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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

JAMES J. DAVIS, Secretary

(CHILDREN'S BUREAU)

GRACE ABBOTT, Chief

CHILDREN OF PRESCHOOL AGE IN GARY, IND.

PART I. GENERAL CONDITIONS AFFECTING
CHILD WELFARE

BY

ELIZABETH HUGHES

PART II. DIET OF THE CHILDREN

BY

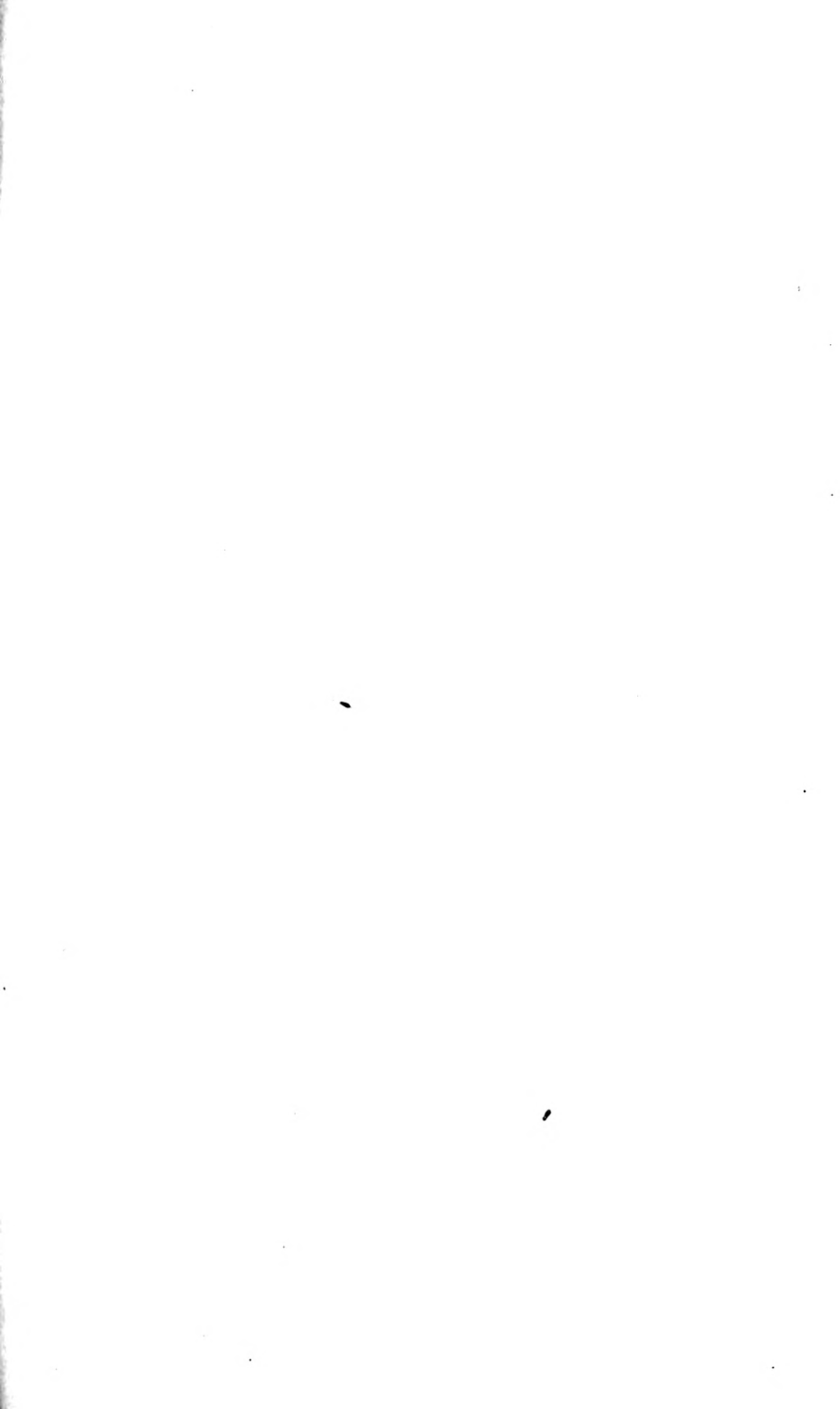
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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

JAMES J. DAVIS, Secretary

CHILDREN'S BUREAU

GRACE ABBOTT, Chief

ILLEGITIMACY AS A CHILD-WELFARE PROBLEM

PART 3

METHODS OF CARE IN SELECTED
URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITIES

2

Bureau Publication No. 128

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
Washington, May 14, 1923.

SIR: I transmit herewith a report on Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem, the third in a series of studies on this subject planned and supervised by Emma O. Lundberg and Katharine F. Lenroot, of the social-service division of the Children's Bureau.

This report presents the results of cooperative research by groups in different cities who were attempting to deal with the problem of illegitimacy and were interested in analyzing its extent and the methods of care in their communities, namely, the Boston Conference on Illegitimacy, the Philadelphia Conference on Parenthood, the Milwaukee Conference on Illegitimacy, and the New York State Charities Aid Association and its county agencies. The Minnesota study by Mildred Dennett Mudgett was not made under the direction of the Federal Children's Bureau.

The Philadelphia material was gathered under the supervision of Amey Eaton Watson, who wrote that section of the report. Louise Drury was responsible for the collection and for part of the analysis of the Milwaukee data. H. Ida Curry wrote the section based on material gathered by county agencies affiliated with the New York State Charities Aid Association, and Mary R. Mason, of the same organization, furnished the data relating to employment of unmarried mothers in New York City. Mary E. Milburn, of the bureau staff, wrote the New York City section and parts of the Milwaukee section.

Respectfully submitted.

GRACE ABBOTT, *Chief.*

Hon. JAMES J. DAVIS,
Secretary of Labor.

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ILLEGITIMACY AS A CHILD-WELFARE PROBLEM.

PART 3.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

By EMMA O. LUNDBERG.

ORIGIN AND PURPOSE OF THIS SERIES.

The series of studies reported on in this publication had its inception in the expression of interest in cooperative study of the problem of care of children born out of wedlock—first by the Boston Conference on Illegitimacy, and later by the Philadelphia Conference on Parenthood, the committee on child life of the Milwaukee Central Council of Social Agencies, and two departments of the New York State Charities Aid Association.¹ While the primary object was to secure information as a basis for analysis of methods of caring for unmarried mothers and their children, it was also the purpose to encourage agencies, through this experiment in record keeping, to consider the items of information necessary for understanding a case and its possibilities. The form used² was prepared at the suggestion of Mrs. Ada Eliot Sheffield and with the assistance of a committee of the Boston conference. The work in each locality was undertaken at the request of child-caring and other agencies, and represented collaboration between the local groups and the Federal Children's Bureau. In the interest of securing more accurate data, as well as promoting adequate record keeping, the plan was for the agencies cooperating to enter information on the schedules currently during the period of the study, the work being supervised in each case by the agency in general charge of the investigation. Each study included children coming to the attention of the agencies during a

¹ The analysis of the data secured in Boston is not included in the following report, because of the much more comprehensive study of the problem in that city in *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem*, Part 2, published by the Children's Bureau in 1921.

² See Appendix C, pp. 246 ff.

selected year, but all children over a year of age at the beginning of the period or less than 6 months of age at its close were excluded.³

Undoubtedly the most valuable feature of these studies was the conferences held at regular intervals, in which representatives of the cooperating agencies discussed case problems presented in the schedules or the social factors and community needs brought out in the study. Results of this united interest are shown in the "standards" worked out by Philadelphia groups⁴ and in the unique experiment undertaken by the Milwaukee Department of Health when the facts were brought to its attention by the group making the study in that city.⁵ Altogether 85 agencies cooperated in these "schedule studies," as follows:

	Agencies.
Boston-----	17
Milwaukee-----	15
Philadelphia-----	34
New York City-----	1
Eighteen counties of New York State-----	12

The reports here presented may be considered as secondary in value to the gain derived in some of these localities through the joint study by agencies of the meaning and treatment of the problem.

GENERAL FINDINGS OF STUDIES.

In the various studies by the Federal Children's Bureau relating to illegitimacy as a child-welfare problem, more or less complete social information has been secured in regard to approximately 6,000 children and their mothers, and 2,000 fathers. The following pages include brief comparative summaries of some of the outstanding features of the background of illegitimacy and of the care and protection needed by this disadvantaged group of children. The sources of the data in the general findings are the schedule studies which form the body of this report⁶ and other studies by the Children's Bureau relating to this problem.⁷

Protection of infancy.

In the cities included in the schedule studies, three-fourths or more of the births out of wedlock occurred in hospitals or maternity homes; of the births reported for the 18 counties of New York State,

³ In the four studies which form the following report, the period covered was from Oct. 1, 1916, to Sept. 30, 1917; the period for the Boston study (omitted) was from Sept. 1, 1915, to Aug. 31, 1916. Children who had died, but who, if living, would have been 6 months of age at the end of the period, and children who were no longer under the care of the cooperating agencies at that time, were included in the studies.

⁴ See pp. 88-94.

⁵ See pp. 100-101.

⁶ Including also the unpublished Boston study.

⁷ See comparative data from studies of illegitimacy as a child-welfare problem, Appendix B, pp. 240-245.

on the contrary, only half were in hospitals or institutions. While a considerable proportion of the births occurred in hospitals, many of which were equipped for dealing with the social as well as the medical aspects, others were in commercial lying-in homes where even the physical care was far from adequate.

The studies included in this report give data concerning the care of children up to 2 years of age. In Philadelphia and Milwaukee application was made to an agency giving prolonged care before the child was born in 57 per cent and 54 per cent, respectively, of the cases under care of such agencies; and in 18 per cent and 19 per cent, respectively, when the child was less than 1 month old. In Philadelphia 92 per cent of the infants who were known to agencies giving prolonged care, and in Milwaukee 95 per cent, came to the attention of these agencies before they reached the age of 6 months. In the New York State area, 36 per cent of the cases came to the attention of the agencies before the babies were born, and 24 per cent while the babies were less than a month old; 86 per cent of the children were less than 6 months of age when application was made.

Nowhere is the need for protection of infancy so clearly shown as in the mortality rates for infants born out of wedlock. As will be seen in the accompanying table of comparative infant mortality rates in five cities, the Children's Bureau has found rates for children born out of wedlock about three times as high as for children of legitimate birth.

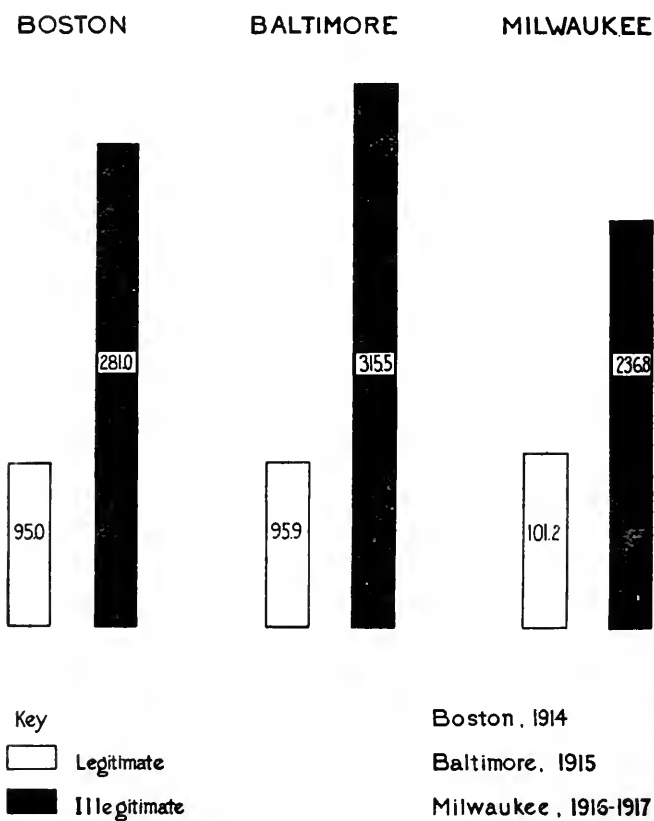
TABLE I.—*Comparison of infant mortality rates for children of legitimate and illegitimate birth in five cities.*¹

City.	Infant mortality rate.		Relative frequency.
	Infants of illegitimate birth.	Infants of legitimate birth.	
Baltimore (white).....	315.5	95.9	3.3
Boston.....	281.0	95.0	3.0
Brockton.....	291.7	96.7	3.0
Milwaukee.....	236.8	101.2	2.3
New Bedford.....	346.5	130.3	2.7

¹ Periods to which mortality rates apply: Baltimore, 1915; Boston, 1914; Brockton, Nov. 1, 1912–Oct. 31, 1913; Milwaukee, 1916–17 (two-year period); New Bedford, 1913. The rates for three cities were derived from reports of the Children's Bureau infant-mortality studies as follows: Baltimore, p. 169, Brockton, pp. 65, 67, and New Bedford, pp. 15, 64, 66; the Boston rate from *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem*, Part 2, p. 90; the Milwaukee rate from data in the annual reports of the commissioner of health of that city for 1916 and 1917 and in the Milwaukee schedule study. With the exception of that given for Milwaukee, all the rates were based on infant deaths among the children born during the period selected for study.

Perhaps the most important factor in the high infant mortality is early separation of the mother and child, and the consequent difficulties with feeding. The physical welfare of the children is

COMPARATIVE INFANT MORTALITY RATES FOR INFANTS OF LEGITIMATE AND OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTH



greatly handicapped in some cases by bad heredity and by lack of proper care at birth. The conditions that prevailed in Milwaukee, and that have since been largely remedied as a result of the study of the causes of the high mortality rate, are brought out by the fact that 45 per cent of the babies known to have been separated from their mothers had been separated within a month after birth. The corresponding proportions in Boston and Philadelphia were one-fifth and one-fourth, while in the 18 counties of New York State two-fifths of the separations occurred before the babies were a month old.

Again, in Milwaukee, 80 per cent of the separations occurred while the babies were less than 3 months old, and 89 per cent while they were under 6 months of age. In Boston 55 per cent, and in Philadelphia 48 per cent, of the babies were parted from their mothers when under 3 months, the percentages of those under 6 months old being 74 and 71, respectively. There is a growing sentiment in many communities, and especially among maternity homes and child-caring agencies, in favor of keeping mother and child together whenever the mother's rights and obligations and the welfare of the child can be promoted by this means. The constructive work that has been done in this respect by the Milwaukee Health Department points the way to similar humanitarian measures in other communities. The policy of keeping mother and child together, at least during the nursing period, has for a long time been advocated and followed successfully by many maternity homes and by some child-caring agencies.

Support by the father.

The father's responsibility for the support of his child was assumed in only a small proportion of the cases coming to the attention of social agencies, and usually only to a limited extent. For three cities the percentages were:

	Per cent.
Boston *-----	31
Milwaukee -----	36
Philadelphia -----	40

The aid of the court in enforcing support in accordance with law was resorted to in a surprisingly small proportion of cases. In Boston, court action for support had been taken in only 11 per cent of the cases coming to the attention of agencies in one year,² and in only 9 per cent had some arrangement for support been made. In Milwaukee court action had been taken in 28 per cent, and in Phila-

* See *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem*, Part 2, p. 217.

² *Ibid*, p. 215.

delphia in 48 per cent. of the cases known to the agencies; with 20 per cent and 30 per cent, respectively, resulting in some provision for contributions by the father to the support of the child.

The ability of the father to assume his legal obligations for the support of his child, aside from the very important item of his willingness to do so, is indicated to some extent by the data concerning the marital status, age, and occupation of the father. Perhaps the most important factor is marital condition, as related to his obligation to support a legal family. In this respect, and also as an indication of the character of the fathers, it is extremely significant that studies including some 2,000 fathers showed approximately one-third to be married, widowed, divorced, or separated. For five studies the percentages were as follows: 15, 27, 28, 31, and 42.

The age and the occupational status of the father are also important. In a series of eight studies, from 1 to 7 per cent of the fathers were under 18 years of age; from 12 to 28 per cent were under the age of legal majority. The percentages of fathers over 40 years of age varied from 28 per cent in rural sections to from 4 to 11 per cent in city studies; each study included a few fathers over the age of 60 years. The occupational status of the fathers showed a closer agreement in the various studies than did age. The higher grades, including professional and skilled workers, were represented by from 42 per cent to 59 per cent of the total as reported in five studies, whereas the semiskilled workers, servants, laborers, and others of similar status showed the following percentages: 41, 46, 56, 58, 58. In general, although differences are to be expected because of varying conditions in the several localities, the figures secured in these studies corroborate each other and emphasize the similarity of the social aspects of the problem of illegitimacy in different communities.

The mother's ability to assume the care of the child.

The most significant factor in connection with the type and extent of agency care that is needed is the physical and mental fitness of the mother to provide for the child. In the various studies the following percentages of mothers were under 18 years of age:¹⁰

	Per cent.
Boston ¹¹	11
Philadelphia	22
Milwaukee	14
New York City (1 agency)	13
Eighteen counties of New York State	24

¹⁰ Similar age distributions are shown by vital statistics data. In 14 per cent of the illegitimate births registered in Boston and in Milwaukee in one year, and in 21 per cent of those in Baltimore, the mothers were under 18 years of age at the birth of the child.

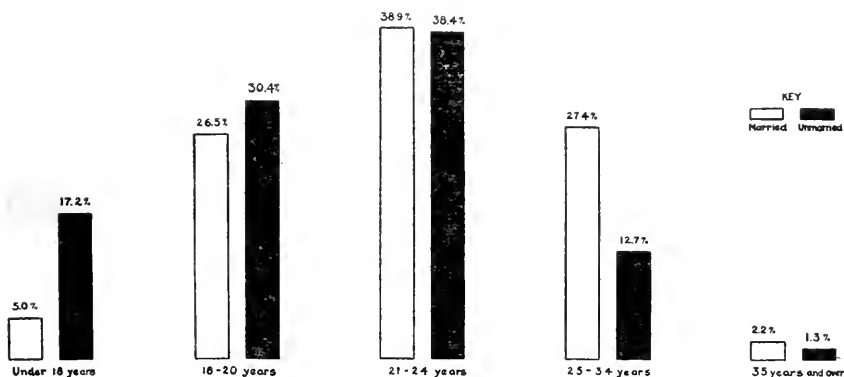
¹¹ Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem, Part 2, p. 205.

Of the mothers included in the New York State study 9 per cent were under 16 years of age at the birth of the child, as were 2 per cent of those in the Massachusetts rural seacoast study. Five per cent of the mothers coming to the attention of Philadelphia agencies, 3 per cent of those in the Milwaukee study, and 2 per cent of the Boston mothers were under 16 years of age when their children were born.

Thus it is seen that in a considerable number of cases the agencies not only are confronted with the problem of providing care for the child but must assist a mother who is herself a child in need of

COMPARATIVE AGES OF MARRIED AND UNMARRIED MOTHERS

BASED ON BIRTHS IN ONE YEAR TO WHITE MOTHERS HAVING NO PREVIOUS CHILDREN
4,116 LEGITIMATE BIRTHS IN 4 CITIES, AND 1,486 ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS IN 4 CITIES



Data secured from U. S. Children's Bureau studies covering 4,116 married mothers in Baltimore, Gary, New Bedford, and Waterbury, and 1,486 unmarried mothers in Baltimore, Boston, Milwaukee, and Philadelphia. The nativity distribution of the total white female population 15 to 44 years of age is practically the same in these two groups of cities, with 77 per cent native in the former and 74 per cent in the latter.

guidance and protection. In work with this group, and in protecting young girls in general from endangering influences, lies the most hopeful possibility of reducing illegitimacy and the delinquencies with which it is allied. Not only is there special need for such safeguards as will reduce the number of child-mothers, but the agencies dealing with these problems have an especially urgent and difficult task in the protection of young girls who have gone through the tragedy of illegitimate motherhood.

The data on the ages of the mothers when they left home point to a significant phase of the problem of protection. In the Philadelphia study, of the mothers whose ages at leaving home were reported 32 per cent had been deprived of the protection of a home before

they were 14 years of age, and a total of 68 per cent had left home before they were 18 years old. Of the Milwaukee mothers, 17 per cent left home when under 14 years, and 61 per cent when less than 18 years of age; for Boston the corresponding percentages were 31 and 57. The figures for the mothers of the New York State study show an astonishing condition—almost half had left the parental home before they were 14 years old, and four-fifths before they were 18 years of age.

The type of assistance that can be given by agencies—whether it is possible to aid the mother so that she can retain the custody of the child or help maintain him otherwise, or whether it is desirable to relieve her of all or part of her obligations and interest—depends very largely on the mother's mentality and character. Economic resources of the mother can be supplemented when all other conditions

THE BACKGROUND OF ILLEGITIMACY

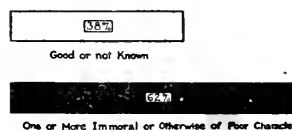
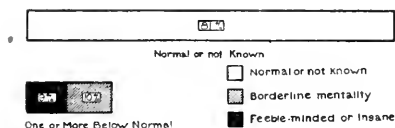
DATA SECURED FROM RECORD STUDY IN ONE CITY,
INCLUDING 2178 CHILDREN OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTH
UNDER CARE OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

MENTALITY

MOTHER, FATHER, AND MATERNAL GRANDPARENTS

CHARACTER

MOTHER, FATHER, AND MATERNAL GRANDPARENTS



are satisfactory for the welfare of the child; but deficient mentality or other characteristics that endanger his welfare are usually compelling reasons for the assumption of the care of the child by public or private agencies. In the Massachusetts studies 54 per cent of the mothers of children under care of State, city, or private agencies were known to be of poor character; 11 per cent had been diagnosed as feeble-minded, subnormal, or insane, and a further 7 per cent were considered subnormal. Among the Philadelphia agency cases 34 per cent were of poor character and 8 per cent had been diagnosed not normal mentally. The corresponding figures for Milwaukee were 26 per cent of poor character and 9 per cent not normal mentally. The information concerning the mothers in the rural studies is even more striking. In the rural seacoast section of Massachusetts over half were reported as being immoral, no figures being given in regard to other forms of delinquency; 13 per cent of the mothers were diagnosed as mentally abnormal or subnormal, and 23 per cent were reported as probably subnormal. In the 18 counties of New York State 61 per cent were considered of poor character, 16 per cent had been diagnosed feeble-minded, subnormal, or insane, and an additional 7 per cent were thought to be below normal mentally.

The agency's work in assisting mother and child is further complicated in the cases in which the mother has had other children out of wedlock. The proportion of such cases coming to the attention of agencies is of course larger than the proportion among all unmarried mothers. The figures on "repeaters" show an interesting variation in the different studies:

	Per cent.
Boston-----	26
Milwaukee-----	10
Philadelphia-----	14
Eighteen Counties of New York State-----	22

The mother's parental home.

The incidence of broken homes is similar to that found in studies of delinquent women. In the studies in Massachusetts the proportion of mothers who came from homes broken through the death of one parent or through divorce, separation, or desertion, or who had no parental homes because of the death or absence from this country of both parents ranged from 23 per cent to 31 per cent.¹³ In Milwaukee and rural New York the corresponding percentages were 49 and 56, respectively, while in Philadelphia the proportion rose to 71 per cent.

Report that the home was normal to the extent that both parents were living in the home by no means implies that detrimental conditions were not present. It was found in one study, for example, that more than one-fourth of the mothers whose parents were living had suffered from bad home conditions due to alcoholism, immorality, or otherwise poor character of their parents. Not only are the homes of a large proportion of mothers no source of aid in time of need but home conditions are often directly responsible for waywardness or weaknesses against which a normal home should afford protection.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF STANDARDS.

It has been stated that the studies included in this publication were the result of the desire of agencies in several localities to study this problem of child care as a basis for group discussion of the existing facilities and the possible need for other forms of protection and care. During the progress of these cooperative studies, other groups than those here represented made brief studies of the situation in their cities, using the schedule suggested by the Federal Children's Bureau. In many other communities groups have met regularly or occasionally for discussion of the legislative or other phases of the problem of protection for children born out of wedlock.

Three of the cooperative studies which furnished the basis for this report¹⁴ were made under the auspices of groups affiliated with the Inter-City Conference on Illegitimacy, an association organized in

¹³ Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem, Part 2, pp. 120, 217-218, 304.

¹⁴ Boston, Milwaukee, Philadelphia.

1915 for the purpose of affording a medium for the interchange of information on methods of dealing with the problem in various localities. Twenty or more groups in as many cities, and a number of individuals in other cities, are affiliated with this association. Considerable attention has been given to questions of legislation, and in 1919 the Federal Children's Bureau furnished a number of these groups with an outline for discussion of standards of legislation for the protection of children born out of wedlock, as applied to their own States. In several States these or other groups have been active in endeavoring to secure improvement in legislation.

The reports of the conclusions of the local groups formed the basis of the two regional conferences which were held early in 1920 under the joint auspices of the Children's Bureau and the Inter-City Conference on Illegitimacy. At these conferences general agreement was reached as to the principal standards which should govern illegitimacy legislation, and the suggestion was made that the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws be requested to take this subject under consideration. Such a request was presented to the commissioners, and a committee headed by Prof. Ernst Freund, of the University of Chicago Law School, was appointed in August, 1920.

At its 1922 annual meeting the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws approved a "uniform illegitimacy act"¹⁵ and recommended it to the States for adoption.

The bill as recommended deals entirely with the obligation of the parents for the child's support, except that a section is included which eliminates unnecessary reference to illegitimacy in records, certificates, and other papers. Questions relating to the registration of illegitimate births are not included, because they have been covered in the model birth registration law proposed by the commissioners on uniform State laws. Items concerning status—inheritance, legitimation, the right to the father's name—were included in the first draft which was considered at the 1921 meeting, but were later omitted because of the opposition that arose to a number of the provisions.

The initial statement of the bill is practically identical with the corresponding section of the Norwegian law: "The parents of a child born out of wedlock and not legitimated owe the child necessary maintenance, education, and support." The uniform law makes the father liable for the expenses of the mother's pregnancy and confinement. The obligations of the parents to support the child under the laws for the support of poor relatives are also made to apply to children born out of wedlock. The obligation of the father,

¹⁵ A bill for an act relating to children born out of wedlock and to make uniform the law with reference thereto. Published by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws.

where his paternity has been judicially established in his lifetime or has been acknowledged by him, is enforceable against his estate—in such amount as the court may determine, having regard to various factors specified relative to the child, his mother, and the father's lawful family.

Action may be undertaken against the father, either by the mother, her legal representative, a third person furnishing support, or the authorities charged with the child's support, should he become dependent. Provisions new to illegitimacy legislation permit the mother, regardless of her own place of residence, to begin proceedings in the place where the father is permanently or temporarily resident. It is further provided that the judgment of the court of another State may be sued upon and be made a domestic judgment.

The support judgment is to be for annual amounts, equal or varying, until the child reaches the age of 16 years. Payments are to be made at such periods or intervals as the court directs, and may be made to the mother or to a trustee. The court has continuing jurisdiction over proceedings brought to compel support, and may increase or decrease the amount, and also has continuing jurisdiction to determine custody in accordance with the interests of the child.

In default of security, when required, instead of committing the father to jail, or as a condition of release from jail, the court may commit him to the custody of a probation officer, upon such terms regarding payments and personal reports as the court may direct. One of the most important clauses in the sections relating to proceedings to compel support states that agreement or compromise concerning the support of the child shall be binding upon the mother or child only when adequate provision is fully secured by payment or otherwise, and when approved by a court having jurisdiction to compel support of the child. This safeguard is an evident need in many States.

The court which shall be given jurisdiction is not specified, since court systems in the States differ so widely. It would no doubt be possible for the States in adopting the uniform act to provide for placing jurisdiction in a court with socialized procedure and equipment. In fact, the probationary features of the draft imply that the court given jurisdiction should have a probation staff. That the tendency is toward the socializing of the procedure in illegitimacy cases, and emphasizing the nature of the action as a child-welfare measure, is shown by the action taken in 1922 in New Jersey and New York—which adds these States to the District of Columbia, Illinois, and Hawaii—giving the juvenile court exclusive or concurrent jurisdiction over proceedings for the determination of paternity or securing maintenance for children born out of wedlock.

Although the proposed act does not, perhaps, go so far as many of those engaged in the work with unmarried mothers and their children desire, such a measure would undoubtedly remedy many of the defects in procedure that now handicap efforts to secure justice through legal action for children disadvantaged by birth out of wedlock. As stated in the report of the committee which accompanied the draft, the proposed law seeks to retain those provisions which have "approved themselves by the experience of most of the States; particularly the coercive features of the support proceedings have been preserved and strengthened. The changes proposed seek to advance the interest of the child in three directions: By recognizing every possible benefit not opposed by a strong adverse interest; by strengthening the support obligation, which at present is lamentably inadequate; and by aiding enforcement by new remedial and coercive measures, and by removing jurisdictional limitations which now unduly favor evasion of liability."

The act does not set up the administrative machinery which is recognized as necessary to secure for the children the benefits which the law intends. This, together with provisions with reference to status, is left, without recommendation, for individual action by the States. But the uniform illegitimacy act is an important forward step which brings to the efforts of social workers to secure more adequate legal protection in this field the weight of the approval and support of a technical organization of high standing.

Of equal importance with the progress achieved in the field of legislation has been the attention given to standards of case work with the mother and child and to the social aspects of the problem. The cooperative study of the illegitimacy problem in Philadelphia led to further discussion by committees representing various types of care. The resulting conclusions on standards, containing as they do the combined judgment of groups with a background of experience in dealing with the various phases of the problem, form a valuable contribution to social case work.

Information in regard to types of work and methods of effecting the readjustment of the mother and making constructive provision for the child is given in only a very general way in the studies here presented. Here and there experiments of the greatest significance are in progress, many of them in too early a stage to be reported upon except tentatively. Through the interchange of information on successes and failures in case work, on plans for changing archaic features which still exist in the laws of most of the States, and on the social meaning of the problem of illegitimacy, will come a constant development of standards of care and protection for children handicapped by birth out of wedlock.

PHILADELPHIA'S PROBLEM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF STANDARDS OF CARE.

By AMEY EATON WATSON.¹

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIAL TREATMENT OF ILLEGITIMACY IN PHILADELPHIA.

The treatment of illegitimacy, as of all social problems in Philadelphia, has gone through a process of evolution. A review of a few of the agencies which earlier cared for the unmarried mother and her child will illustrate this growth or change and furnish a background for an analysis of present efforts.

The Magdalen Society of Philadelphia, founded in 1800 by a group of men well known in the history of Philadelphia, set out with the avowed purpose of "reclaiming abandoned females." In the exact words afterwards adopted, it sought "to aid in restoring to paths of virtue, and in recovery to honest rank in life, those unhappy females who, in an unguarded hour, have lost their innocence and have been sunk into wretchedness and guilt, and, being affected with remorse at the misery of their situation, are desirous of returning to a life of rectitude." In 1806 it was voted "that the blending of the institution with a foundling hospital should not be recommended." Throughout its work the emphasis has been on the effort to upbuild the personal character of its wards. Perhaps most of the girls dealt with by the society were not mothers, though undoubtedly many of them bore children out of wedlock.

Even in its early years the society made an effort toward the removal of certain causes of the evils it was seeking to cure. A committee was appointed to petition the public to pay honest prices for female labor, and another committee was charged with the duty of

¹ Mrs. Watson was president of the Philadelphia Conference on Parenthood from 1915 to 1921. This report has been presented in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy at Bryn Mawr College under the direction of Prof. Susan M. Kingsbury, of the Carola Woerishoffer Graduate Department of Social Economy and Social Research. Acknowledgment is made to Prof. Neva R. Deardorff for revision and criticism of the report.

"looking into the sufficiency of the laws of the Commonwealth for prosecuting the destroyers of female innocence."²

Following this preventive policy, in 1916 the society decided to change the emphasis of its work and introduced a novel program of the greatest promise. Instead of working with young women after their lives had become involved in some social maladjustment, it now aimed, through the schools, to reach a large number of children in their early years and so to guide their social and economic activities as to prevent such maladjustment. With this new emphasis, the society adopted a new name—the White-Williams Foundation for Girls, "a society for the study and assistance of children of school age."³ Since 1920 it has worked with boys as well as girls, under the name of the White-Williams Foundation. It is now one of the strongest influences in Philadelphia for the prevention of the various types of antisocial conduct.

Social work in Philadelphia directly for children had a more recent origin. The Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania was established in 1882, and the work of helping destitute mothers with young children was immediately made an important part of its activities. Mothers with young children were placed in gainful occupations where they could keep their children with them, many of these mothers being taken from the almshouse.⁴ The basis of selection was motherhood and destitution, and hence all types of mothers were included—the married, the deserted, the widowed, and the unmarried.⁵

The Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania continued this work until 1915, when it surrendered it to a department of the Children's Bureau of Philadelphia.^{5a} The plan of assistance in practically every case was to send the mother into domestic service. In the 1909 annual report medical examinations were mentioned as a basis for the better placement of mother and child, and it was pointed out that "discriminating placement followed by careful supervision is needed to secure the best results."⁶ The mother was instructed in the proper care of her infant. Efforts were made to find families willing to train the mothers in housework and in the care of their babies. Cooperation was established with a number of hospitals and institu-

² One-hundredth Annual Report, Magdalen Society of Philadelphia, pp. 18-19. Philadelphia, 1900. In the first hundred years of its existence 2,726 women found refuge in this home.

³ One Hundred and Nineteenth Annual Report, White-Williams Foundation for Girls (formerly the Magdalen Society for Girls), 1919, by Anna B. Pratt, director of the society.

⁴ Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, 1908, p. 6.

⁵ Wilson, Anna T.: "Foundlings and Illegitimate Children," in *The Care of Dependent, Neglected, and Wayward Children*, a report of the second section of the International Congress of Charities, Correction, and Philanthropy, Chicago, June, 1893, p. 61.

^{5a} See p. 15.

⁶ Twenty-eighth Annual Report, Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, 1909, p. 9.

tions which took "unfit" mothers with their children, temporarily, in order to give one or both the treatment and physical upbuilding that was required.

In 1907 the Children's Aid Society cooperated with the Seybert Institution in founding the Children's Bureau of Philadelphia as a joint receiving and investigating department. The Pennsylvania Society to Protect Children from Cruelty entered the plan a year later. The new children's bureau established a separate department of domestic service, of which mention was first made in its 1909 report.⁷ The importance of convalescent care for the young mother, and especially for the illegitimate mother, was noted in the 1909 report, and in the report for 1910 higher standards for this work were outlined. Emphasis was laid upon the need for more careful inspection and supervision of homes in order to prevent the work from being merely a mechanical employment service. It was further recommended that efforts be made to find types of work other than domestic service for mothers trained in other fields, the baby under these circumstances to be supported in a boarding home by the mother.

Early in 1915, as a result of conferences held by representatives of various agencies interested in the care of unmarried mothers, deserted wives, and widows left with the care of young infants, the children's aid society's department of mothers with children and the children's bureau's department of domestic service were amalgamated under the name of the children's bureau's department of mothers with children. The work continued to include all destitute mothers with young children—married mothers, deserted wives, widows, and unmarried mothers. The proportions in which the various classes of mothers were cared for, from 1915 to 1917, are shown in Table I.

TABLE I.—*Status of destitute mothers cared for by the Philadelphia children's bureau's department of mothers with children, 1915-1917.^a*

Status.	Mothers cared for during specified year.		
	1915	1916	1917
Total mothers.....	616	435	640
Married.....	24	67	4
Widowed.....	110	67	72
Deserted wives.....	158	133	244
Unmarried mothers.....	324	235	320

^a Sources: Thirty-fifth Annual Report, Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, 1916, p. 52; also unpublished statistics of the department of mothers with children of the Children's Bureau of Philadelphia.

⁷ Unpublished report of the Children's Bureau of Philadelphia for 1909, p. 4.

In 1918 the work of the department was reorganized, and the experiment was tried of limiting its intake to cases of unmarried mothers.⁸

The development of medical social service in Philadelphia also helped to crystallize interest in illegitimacy. The social-service department of the University of Pennsylvania Hospital, founded in 1907, was the first hospital social service in the city. As seen in its reports, it appreciated the hospital's opportunity to secure the confidence of the mother at a crisis in her life. In 1913 its head worker found wide difference of opinion throughout the city as to the method of treating illegitimacy, the various agencies attacking the problem from different angles and with different purposes. Noting the absence of continuity of effort, she said: "There should be some arrangement for continuance of friendship and guidance, whereby the same worker would know a girl through pregnancy, during the nursing period, and after she has gone out to support her baby. * * * Until some one agency in the city takes this question as its particular responsibility we must continue to help individual girls as they come to us."⁹ In cooperation with the psychological clinic of the university, the hospital social-service department did much to establish standards of treatment for unmarried mothers, in addition to arousing the community conscience.¹⁰

In 1914 the municipal court of Philadelphia was organized and began the development of its criminal division. Prior to this time, cases to establish paternity were heard in the magistrates' courts of Philadelphia, and there was little consideration for the mother. Often she had to repeat her story to several different men who had no training in handling such cases. In the new department, the mother of every child born out of wedlock could confer with a trained woman, who would see that she and her child received proper care and treatment—legal, medical, and social. The court soon found that it could not, single-handed, accomplish so large a task, and it turned to other agencies in the community for help—hospitals, children's societies, nursing organizations.¹¹ In other words, it discovered that this was not a problem for the public agency alone, but that its adequate solution demanded teamwork—the cooperation of all the public and private agencies as well as of public-minded citizens.

⁸ For further discussion of the work of this department, see pp. 35 ff.

⁹ Seventh Annual Report, Social Service Department of the University of Pennsylvania Hospital, 1913-14, p. 11.

¹⁰ Maxfield, Francis N.: "The social treatment of unmarried mothers," in Eighth Annual Report of the Social Service Department, University of Pennsylvania Hospital, 1914-15, p. 16.

¹¹ Second Annual Report, Municipal Court of Philadelphia, 1915, pp. 79-80.

Coincidentally, the Bureau for Social Research of the Seybert Institution commenced a study of the records of 500 cases in which illegitimacy had occurred. It found that in many instances several agencies worked on the same case and that a closer cooperation was essential. In 1915, therefore, four agencies—the Seybert Institution, the municipal court of Philadelphia, the Children's Bureau of Philadelphia, and the social-service department of the University of Pennsylvania Hospital—called together all the agencies in the city which touched the problem of illegitimacy and formed the Philadelphia Conference on Illegitimacy, the purpose of which was to improve standards of case work with the illegitimate family and to carry on research work in that field.¹²

Through study and case discussions the conference sought to become thoroughly familiar with the problem of illegitimacy in Philadelphia and to gain perspective by becoming acquainted with the national and international movement to prevent illegitimacy. It was influenced by the legislation of Norway and the work of the Bund für Mutterschutz of Germany, as well as by the detailed study of actual cases in Philadelphia. Its first year's deliberations, at monthly intervals during the winter, resulted in a slight change of emphasis in its work, which was reflected in a change of name to the Philadelphia Conference on Parenthood.¹³

PURPOSE AND METHOD OF THE STUDY.

In its efforts to raise the standards of case work with the illegitimate family, the Philadelphia Conference on Parenthood felt the need of a basis of facts. It therefore requested that a survey of illegitimacy in Philadelphia be made under the direction of the Federal Children's Bureau and the Carola Woerishoffer Graduate Department of Social Economy and Social Research of Bryn Mawr College. This study was accordingly undertaken by the writer, with two distinct objects: First, to put before the social agencies of Philadelphia concerned with illegitimacy a standard of diagnosis and treatment; second, to provide a scientific basis for comparing Philadelphia's procedure with the work of other cities, with particular reference to the care of the child.

To bring about cooperation, all agencies in Philadelphia receiving the unmarried mother for confinement and care—66 in number—were

¹² This conference was modeled largely after the Boston Conference on Illegitimacy (organized in 1913); it worked through committees on research, legal aspects, health, public opinion, and diagnosis and treatment.

¹³ The Philadelphia Conference on Parenthood has continued since 1916, working through subcommittees on case work with the illegitimate family, legal aspects, health, wage-earning mothers, and education for parenthood. In 1918 the conference formulated certain "standards of constructive parenthood" which it has adopted as its program. See "The attitude of married parents and social workers toward unmarried parents," by Mrs. Frank D. [Amey Eaton] Watson, in *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1918, pp. 102-108.

consulted; 43 agencies promised assistance in the study and were supplied with small cards and schedules prepared by the Federal Children's Bureau.¹⁴ Material was actually furnished by 34 agencies. First, in order to avoid duplication, the agencies were asked to enter on the small cards the names of all open cases and to send the cards to a central office, where they were indexed. From this card index were selected all cases which had been under the care of an agency within the period October 1, 1916–September 30, 1917, excluding those in which the child was over 1 year of age at the beginning or under 6 months of age at the end of that period, and those in which agency care continued for less than three days. Second, each scheduled case was assigned to the agency which had done the most work on it; after this agency had contributed all the information it possessed, other agencies which had worked on the case were asked to add new information. To all these agencies an investigator went for the purpose of assisting in the actual work of filling out the questionnaires. An effort was made in each instance to interview the workers who had handled the case.

A total of 923 cards were returned by 34 agencies. By the elimination of duplicates (120 reported by two, 65 by from three to six agencies) and of all those cases which did not come within the requirements of the study, 632 schedules returned by 24 agencies were finally selected as the basis of this report. In 41 instances a schedule contained information from two or more agencies. The following list shows the agency groups from which the schedules came:

Total schedules.....	632
Child-caring agency.....	158
Child-caring agency and court.....	22
Child-caring agency and hospital social service.....	2
Child-caring agency and maternity home.....	1
Child-caring agency and supervising agency.....	5
Child-caring agency, court, and hospital social service.....	1
Court.....	180
Court and hospital social service.....	2
Court and maternity home.....	1
Court and supervising agency.....	5
Hospital social service.....	97
Hospital social service and supervising agency.....	1
Health agency.....	6
Maternity home.....	95
Maternity home and supervising agency.....	1
Supervising agency.....	55

Each agency cooperated in a review of its own work, and a committee of the agencies assisted in getting the material into standard form. An analysis of the material which shows the work of these

¹⁴ For forms, see Appendix C, pp. 246 ff.

agencies and their relationships to each other forms the basis of Chapter II. The facts concerning the parents of the children born out of wedlock, as shown by the schedules and by the vital statistics of Philadelphia, are analyzed in Chapter III. Chapter IV treats of the physical care given to the mother, and the care given to the child is considered in Chapter V. In Chapter VI will be found a series of standards. Those referring to case work with the illegitimate family and those referring to maternity homes were formulated in the course of the study by the author. They were revised and approved by the various cooperating committees.

VALUE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE MATERIAL.

The value of the schedule material lies in the picture it gives of the care and treatment of 629 illegitimate mothers and their 632 children.¹⁵ The variety of the needs presented by these mothers and the assistance given indicates that the group is broadly representative.

Incomplete as is the registration of illegitimate births, Philadelphia's vital statistics probably give some information in regard to a large per cent of the total births out of wedlock; but the most satisfactory material used in this analysis is based on intimate knowledge of the individual, gained through the schedule filled in by the worker having personal contact with the case.

The limitations of the schedule method were fully recognized before the beginning of the investigation. It was realized that with this schedule no intensive study of individual cases was possible, that the facts gathered would rarely be based on more than a year's acquaintance with the girl, that an intimate acquaintance with the mother and child was seldom possible, and that as so many persons were to fill out the different schedules there would inevitably be many different interpretations of the evidence. It is probable that analyses, case by case, extending over a period of years, offer the only fairly complete way of gathering such data, and that the results should be presented case by case with considerable detail.¹⁶ But the method employed in this study undoubtedly has value, if the limitations of the schedule material are kept in mind.

The schedules varied greatly as to the amount of information included, partly because some agency groups gleaned data only on points which bore directly on their work with the mother. For instance, the schedules of the hospital social-service departments contained more of the physical and medical data, the court records gave more facts concerning the father and such items as were neces-

¹⁵ Three mothers had twins.

¹⁶ For this method, applied to a study of delinquents, see *The Individual Delinquent*, by William Healy, M. D. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1915.

sary for the legal handling of the case, and the schedules made out by the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, the supervising agencies, and the children's agencies emphasized the facts concerning the mother and her family background. Moreover, it was found that different agencies in the same group filled out the schedules with widely different degrees of completeness and care. This can be attributed only to variation in standards of work. For example, one hospital social-service department which realized the far-reaching ramifications of its medical social work gave, in addition to its thorough medical and physical diagnosis, almost as complete information on the background of the mother and her family as did the family agency, and also much information concerning the father. Another hospital social-service department, which had been in operation for a short time only, gave practically no social background for either the mother or the father, and failed even to furnish satisfactory medical data. In some cases it had lost sight of the mother immediately after she left the hospital.

It is significant that no other agency was able to give nearly as full returns about the man as the court gave, and that even those received from the latter were woefully inadequate. An intensive and careful study of the physical, psychological, and social background of the fathers of children born out of wedlock remains to be undertaken.

The tables presented in the report show varying numbers of mothers for whom information was obtained concerning the particular items under consideration. It is probably fair to assume that the distribution of the "not reported" cases was closely similar to that of known cases.

RELATION OF NUMBER OF CASES STUDIED TO TOTAL ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS IN PHILADELPHIA.

The prevalence of illegitimacy in Philadelphia is neither particularly high nor particularly low in contrast with its extent in other large cities of the United States. In 1920 the percentages of live births reported as illegitimate for seven selected cities were as follows:¹⁷ New York, 1.1; Baltimore (white), 1.3; Philadelphia, 2.6; Milwaukee, 2.7; Cincinnati, 2.9; St. Paul, 3.9; and Minneapolis, 3.9.

The facts given in Table II show a slight but encouraging decline of illegitimacy in Philadelphia from 1915 to 1920.

¹⁷ See Appendix A, Table 2, p. 239.

TABLE II.—*Number and per cent of illegitimate births, by year of birth and race of mother; total births in Philadelphia, 1915-1920.*¹

Year.	Total births.			Births to white mothers.			Births to negro mothers.		
	Total.	Illegitimate.		Total.	Illegitimate.		Total.	Illegitimate.	
		Number.	Per cent.		Number.	Per cent.		Number.	Per cent.
1915.....	42,820	1,189	2.8	² 40,032	826	2.1	² 2,221	363	16.3
1916.....	42,563	1,043	2.5	40,285	737	1.8	2,278	306	13.4
1917.....	44,897	1,068	2.4	42,137	694	1.6	2,760	374	13.6
1918.....	45,153	1,069	2.4	42,124	680	1.6	3,029	389	12.8
1919.....	44,149	1,085	2.5	40,756	629	1.5	3,393	456	13.4
1920.....	45,625	1,077	2.4	42,077	631	1.5	3,548	446	12.6

¹ Data compiled from Vital Statistics of Philadelphia, 1915-1920. These figures include live and still births, separate data not being available for the illegitimate births.

² In regard to 567 of the stillbirths included in the total number of births, it was not recorded whether the parents were white or colored.

The ratio of the number of children included in this study who were born in Philadelphia to the total illegitimate births in the city during the same period can be stated only approximately. It will be remembered that no children were included who were over 1 year of age at the beginning of the period of this study or less than 6 months of age at its end (i. e., who were born before October 1, 1915, or after March 31, 1917). On the assumption that one-fourth of the yearly illegitimate live births occurred in each quarter of the year, it is estimated that 1,511 children were born illegitimately during the period, as follows:¹⁸

Oct. 1-Dec. 31, 1915 (estimate).....	280
Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1916.....	982
Jan. 1-Mar. 31, 1917 (estimate).....	249
Total.....	1,511

The actual number of schedules obtained was 632; of these 598 were for children born in the city, forming 40 per cent of the estimated number of births out of wedlock in the period in question. Considering the fact that only children under the care of agencies between the dates October 1, 1916, and September 30, 1917, were included in the study, and that pressure of work prevented many agencies from filling out their total number of schedules, it seems fairly safe to assume that half the children born out of wedlock during the 18 months specified came to the attention of social agencies in the year of the study and before the end of their second year of life. This percentage may have been higher in the period studied than is normally the case, because of increased living costs or other war conditions.

¹⁸ Estimates based on data in Vital Statistics of Philadelphia, 1915-1917.

CHAPTER II. ASSISTANCE AVAILABLE FOR THE UNMARRIED MOTHER AND HER CHILD.

NATURE OF THE PROBLEM.

What is the experience to-day in Philadelphia of the mother of a child born out of wedlock? What are her imperative and many-sided needs, and the difficulties she faces in finding their right solution? What agencies in the city of Philadelphia will aid her, how does she find them, and how do they meet her need? Is the community failing or succeeding in this important social responsibility, and how can it establish higher standards of care?

That there are in Philadelphia at least 66 agencies which deal to some extent with the illegitimate family may be a surprise to many who are unfamiliar with the complexity of the problem. A careful student, while appreciating the fact that these 66 agencies have grown up in the course of social evolution because of the philanthropic motives of their founders and boards of directors, can not but question whether so many agencies are needed, and whether it is desirable that all should continue in the work that they are now doing.¹

FIELD COVERED BY AGENCIES OF VARIOUS TYPES.

In considering the field covered by agencies of various types in Philadelphia, it is desirable to classify them first as public and private agencies. The functions of the public and the private agency are yet to be differentiated. Further, they are divided into two groups—those doing work of a general type, and those doing specialized work. The agencies of a general type include all those which treat the unmarried mother and her child as part of a larger family situation, not doing the specialized work that may be necessary outside the family group, but making the adjustments and plans which are desirable within this particular circle. A specialized agency, on the other hand, is fitted to do a specific piece of work which given individuals may need, usually temporarily—as hospital care, prenatal care, legal protection, etc.

Public agencies.

There were only two public agencies in Philadelphia which had direct contact with unmarried mothers and their children: The

¹ See reports on standards by committees of the Philadelphia Conference on Parenthood, given on pp. 88 ff.

municipal court (in its criminal and juvenile divisions) and the Philadelphia General Hospital. The services of the criminal division of the court, like those of the hospital, were available for any woman who was a legal resident of Philadelphia.² The court provided a specialized legal service, with limited social-service work and supervision. The juvenile division was utilized in cases, legitimate or illegitimate, where child destitution, desertion, or neglect occurred and it was necessary for the child to receive public protection. The Philadelphia General Hospital cared for the dependent sick, including confinement cases. It set no limitations as to nationality, religion, color, age, or condition of health, thereby differing from many of the private hospitals and maternity homes.

Private agencies.

The private agencies are divided into—

- (1) Agencies doing general family case work.
- (2) Agencies doing a specialized piece of work, including maternity homes, hospitals, child-caring agencies, and agencies working in the field of recreation.

General agencies.—These included such organizations as the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity and the Society of the United Hebrew Charities. Both of these societies cared for illegitimate mothers in families already under their supervision, and for those who had several legitimate children. The volume of their work with legitimate families, however, was so overwhelming that they did not accept new cases in this field, although they would agree that such work belonged logically to them when there was no need for specialized care. Two smaller family agencies in the city followed much the same custom.

Another private agency which at the time of the study was doing some general work for mothers and children out of wedlock was the Girls' Aid, an organization which placed its principal emphasis on recreation and on case work with girls who were not mothers: it accepted the illegitimate mother only if she had been under its care for some time, and when a valuable contact would be lost if the case were transferred.

It is natural that illegitimate mothers who belong to a particular religious denomination may often be helped more effectively by an

² In order to secure assistance from the father through court action, it was necessary for the mother to apply to the court within two years after the date of conception of her child or within two years after the father's last payment toward the support of, or written acknowledgment of, the child. The court was also limited as to the territory it could cover. It might have men arrested anywhere in the State, but its fund for traveling expenses was so small that few arrests and no investigations in such cases were made outside the city. Although extradition was legal in such cases, the court did not extradite men who had escaped beyond the State.

organization conducted by members of that denomination. Of three such denominational agencies in Philadelphia—the Catholic Children's Bureau, the Bureau for Personal Service, and the Church Mission of Help—the first two are doing general family work for the illegitimate family. The Catholic Children's Bureau was, in fact, at the time of this study doing both work of a general type and the specialized work of child placing, but it was not equipped to care for all unmarried mothers of the Roman Catholic faith who needed treatment. The illegitimate mother of Jewish faith turned naturally to the Bureau for Personal Service, an organization which, while emphasizing specialized work with girls of the Jewish faith, had been impelled by force of circumstances to take up general family case work with illegitimate families. This organization was able to care for a large proportion of the total number of Jewish unmarried mothers. It was very closely associated with the Hebrew Sheltering Home, an organization which cared for infants, and which also took a small number of these mothers at the time of confinement.

Specialized agencies.—Among the specialized agencies were six maternity homes: The Midnight Mission, the Rosine Home, the Salvation Army Rescue Home, the Sheltering Arms of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Philadelphia, the Hebrew Sheltering Home, and the Florence Crittenton Home. Three other agencies gave temporary aid—the Temporary Shelter for Women (China Hall), the Home for the Homeless, and the House of Industry. The Midnight Mission³ accepted only white mothers in their first pregnancy, and mothers from outside the city only if they were from the State of Pennsylvania and were able to contribute financially. The Rosine Home⁴ worked entirely with young unmarried mothers, usually under 23 years of age, in their first pregnancy only; it made no limitations as to nationality, religion, or color, but restricted its work to girls of the city. The Salvation Army Rescue Home included a maternity ward; it set no limitations as to nationality, religion, color, or residence, and was one of the few homes which accepted mothers who had already borne one child out of wedlock; it did not admit mothers who were diseased. The Sheltering Arms of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Philadelphia in the main limited its work to white mothers of the city. The Hebrew Sheltering Home took in for confinement a small number of mothers of the Jewish faith, both married and unmarried. The Florence Crittenton Home—one of many of the same name and type established under a general society throughout the country—was non-

³ The Midnight Mission in 1921 discontinued its work.

⁴ Closed after the study was begun.

sectarian and offered shelter to any distressed woman, but specialized in rescue work for white girls under 30 years of age in their first pregnancy.

Hospitals offering maternity care to mothers out of wedlock numbered 26, of which 19 gave this service free. Four accepted white patients only and 2 colored only, 19 made no restrictions as to race, and information on this point is lacking as to 1. Eleven hospitals admitted women in their first pregnancy only (3 of these admitting emergency cases of later pregnancies); 14 accepted cases of any pregnancy; and information on this point is lacking as to 1. One of the most significant facts in regard to these hospitals is the number (18) which had established social-service departments.

The following statement of the maternity care given unmarried mothers by the hospitals was made in a report of the joint committee of the Hospital Social Service Association and the Conference on Parenthood in June, 1921:

A survey of the hospitals in the spring of 1921 showed that approximately 700 cases of unmarried maternity had been cared for during the year. Prenatal care is given in 15 hospitals, postnatal care in 9, and convalescent care when indicated in 7. The hospitals not giving prenatal care have a small maternity service, and the number of unmarried cases is negligible. Two weeks' maternity care is the average time in a general hospital. In 15 hospitals venereal disease disqualifies the applicant; routine Wassermanns are taken in 14 hospitals. In one a routine mental examination is given to all unmarried pregnant women; this will also be the policy of the prenatal clinic at the Philadelphia General, the hospital with the largest intake. As far as physical treatment goes, it appears that while the number of maternity beds available may not be adequate, the quality of the medical service is high.

There were a number of children's agencies (11 in all) which served the child born out of wedlock. Of these, three were home-finding and child-placing agencies—the Philadelphia Children's Bureau, the Catholic Children's Bureau, and the Bureau for Personal Service. It is a question whether the Philadelphia Children's Bureau should be discussed as a specialized or as a general agency. During the period of the study this agency was doing general family case work with the illegitimate mother and her child, through its department of mothers with children, and in addition carried on child-placing work. The Pennsylvania Society to Protect Children from Cruelty was called on to give supervision in cases in which the mother was neglecting the child or in which the family had been known to the society for some time. Cases which did not respond to such treatment were referred to the juvenile division of the municipal court, which had power to remove the child.

The seven remaining child-caring agencies were all homes for children; five received white children only, while two took colored children only. The colored homes had no religious preferences; one

home for white children was limited to Protestants, and one preferred Protestants. All the homes took both legitimate and illegitimate children, without distinction. The children were sent to the public schools, but were given supplementary instruction in the homes.

Since a relatively large proportion of mothers out of wedlock are of the colored race, the care of that group is of especial importance; but Philadelphia had no adequate provision for it. Just as it is true that the agencies of a given denomination can often do the best work with illegitimate mothers of that faith, so agencies of the colored race may be most effective in dealing with colored mothers. The Philadelphia Association for the Protection of Colored Women maintained a home where colored girls were encouraged to come for recreation and social life. While its influence was undoubtedly very constructive, it made no attempt to have on its staff trained case workers. This organization, therefore, dealt with only a very small proportion of the colored illegitimate mothers, and it was not suitably equipped to do general family case work. It was, rather, a specialized agency in the field of recreation.

Another specialized agency, and the only one which was denominational, was the Church Mission of Help, which gave primary emphasis to work with girls. It was apparently able to handle as many Episcopal mothers as were brought to it and, in addition, to admit girls of other creeds.

NEEDS MET BY VARIOUS AGENCIES.

Legal assistance.

A study of the reasons for application as given in the schedules furnishes a picture of the needs which impelled the mothers to come to the agencies for help. These reasons naturally varied according to the class of agency which handled the case. The prosecution of the father was the compelling reason in the cases of 195 mothers, or 33 per cent, of the 583 for whom reason for application was reported. It was to the women's criminal division of the municipal court of Philadelphia that the mother turned for this assistance—a court which had some equipment for rendering other than the purely legal services. The illegitimate mother turns to the court primarily to establish the paternity of her child and to secure a court order for his support. Practically every such mother has many other needs. Some of these needs the court discovers and endeavors to meet.⁵ All cases which came to the court before con-

⁵ The court has recently added to its routine a medical examination by a member of its own medical staff.

finement, and in which the mother had made no plan of her own, were referred to maternity homes or hospitals. Occasionally the court brought about a reconciliation between a mother and the father of her child and encouraged their marriage. For recognizable needs which it could not meet, the court turned to the medical and social agencies of the city. Like the private agencies, it suffered from a serious handicap—insufficiency of workers. In 1916 it handled 381 new cases; and in 1917, 521. Except in case of a settlement or the death of the father or the child, no court case could be closed until the child had reached the age of 16 years; consequently, in addition to new cases there were in 1916 and 1917 several hundred open cases carried over from previous years, so that the total number of open cases amounted to considerably over 1,000 and the active cases to over 800. For all this work the women's criminal division had in 1916-17 but five workers.⁶ According to the standard for case work outlined by the Philadelphia Conference on Parenthood, "the best practice for agencies doing intensive case work is for a worker to supervise not more than 30 to 40 mothers."⁷ It is therefore clear that even with its present staff of nine case workers the court can not do intensive work. It is, of course, essential that in increasing the number of workers only persons of special training and experience should be selected.

In 1918-19 the criminal division of the municipal court continued its effort to attain more adequate cooperation with the other agencies which touch the problem of illegitimacy in Philadelphia. A committee of the court and the social agencies under the chairmanship of the author drew up a plan of work which was indorsed and adopted by the court and 21 leading social agencies of the city. The introductory paragraph stressed the importance of careful supervision according to the ascertained needs of the individual case. The cases which come to court were subdivided into three groups according to their origin, and procedure was then agreed upon for each group. The full report follows:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE COURT AND SOCIAL AGENCIES ON THE ILLEGITIMATE FAMILY.

It is the sense of this committee that, except in special instances, every illegitimate mother and child should be supervised for at least three years of the child's life. By supervision is meant careful, thorough, and constant follow-up work, carried on through close personal contact and understanding,

⁶ In April, 1922, the staff attached to the women's criminal division consisted of one probation officer in charge, one office interviewer, four visiting probation officers, and one probation officer who followed up arrearage cases, all of whom were women; in addition, there were two men probation officers who served first warrants, brought in alleged fathers, and made investigations requiring men—a total of nine workers.

⁷ See pp. 88-89.

the amount of follow-up work to be determined by the individual need. It follows that it is the responsibility of every agency and of the court to see that some particular agency definitely has charge of every girl.

The cases which come to court may be subdivided as follows:

Class 1.—Cases referred by supervising agencies, maternity homes, and social-service departments of hospitals. The court may assume that these agencies will continue in charge of the cases unless they specifically indicate the contrary.

Class 2.—Cases originating in court. The court is asked to have full responsibility for supervision in all these cases. If the court is not equipped to supervise all, the following agencies might be asked to assist in such supervision: Personal Service Bureau (Jewish), Catholic Children's Bureau, Church Mission of Help (Episcopal), Department of Mothers and Children of the Children's Bureau of Philadelphia, and Association for the Protection of Colored Women.

Class 3.—Cases coming to court, which have previously been in charge of a social agency but which are no longer under the charge of such agency. The court is asked to consult with the agency in question and then to use its judgment in such cases, either keeping the responsibility for supervision itself or returning the case to the agency which had it before, according to which plan seems for the better welfare of the mother and child.

Procedure.

Class 1.—(a) All agencies bringing a case to court shall furnish the court with complete summaries of their work on the case, including mental and physical data. (b) The court is asked to keep the agency informed of all its dealings with the girl.

Class 2.—(a) Whenever the court transfers a case to a supervising agency, it is asked to send a summary of all its work on the case, including mental and physical data. (b) Agencies which assume supervision are asked to keep the court informed of their dealings with the girl, especially in regard to the payment or nonpayment of court orders.

Class 3.—(a) As above, if the court transfers any of these cases to the agency which originally had the case, it is asked to send a summary of its work on the case. (b) Agencies which assume supervision are asked to keep the court informed of their dealings with the girl, especially in regard to the payment or nonpayment of court orders.

The weakness of this report lay in its assumption that it was possible for the court to retain full supervision (i. e., to do an intensive piece of case work) in most of the cases which originated with it—about 80 per cent of the total.⁸ It has been previously pointed out that the personnel of the court could do little more than handle the specialized legal phase; if the court is to undertake intensive case work, it must provide a large staff of trained people. If this is not done, many mothers who come to the court will have to work out

⁸ In 1917, 12 per cent of the court cases came from social agencies; in 1918, 20 per cent; since 1918 the percentage is believed to have decreased somewhat. From Oct. 1, 1919, to Sept. 30, 1920, 430 cases came in a so-called "direct" manner—that is, the unmarried mother was referred through a policeman or other official, a detective bureau, or a private individual who knew of the court. (Data supplied by Leon Stern, of the municipal court of Philadelphia, in a statement to the Philadelphia Conference on Parenthood.)

their problems other than legal without that help and supervision necessary to insure them and their children a fair opportunity.

Maternity care.

Maternity homes.—Need for maternity care was reported as the reason for application in 131, or 22 per cent, of the 583 cases in which this item was given. It was, of course, present in a great many cases in which it was not the immediate cause of the appeal to a social agency. This need was supplied in the main by two types of agencies—maternity homes and hospitals. The Visiting Nurse Society of Philadelphia also provided care after confinement, as did the Cinnaminson Home.

Of the nine maternity homes in Philadelphia, three will be described in some detail—the Salvation Army Rescue and Children's Home and Hospital, the Sheltering Arms of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Philadelphia, and the Hebrew Sheltering Home.

The Salvation Army Home included a maternity ward and a children's home. It had been in operation since 1893. The number of workers—10 in all—was apparently adequate for the 118 mothers with their children who were cared for during the year studied. The majority of the mothers were unmarried. Although the home had no social investigator, it made extended inquiries into the histories of all who came under its care and sent out a questionnaire to those who applied from outside Philadelphia. Those found in the preliminary investigation to be blind, feeble-minded, or infected with a venereal disease were not admitted, but were immediately referred to the proper institutions. Those who were accepted were admitted at any time during pregnancy and given care usually for three months after the birth of the child or for a longer period if necessary. They were expected to pay a lying-in fee and some board if possible, and to do sewing or housework. Babies were rarely placed in boarding or free homes, but were usually kept with the mothers, either in their own homes or at domestic service; and although little or no follow-up work was done, especially in the case of the mother who returned to her own home, an effort was made to find and investigate places of employment, and employers were asked not to discharge a girl without notifying the rescue home. In addition, a "coming-home day" was held once a month, when all who were formerly in the home were invited for supper and services, and to stay over night. The organization endeavored especially to place responsibility upon the father of the child, both out of court and by active cooperation with the court. Dependent children of mothers who had previously been in the maternity ward were eligible for admission to the Salvation Army Children's Home between the ages of 3 and 8 years.

The Sheltering Arms of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Philadelphia had been in existence for 36 years. Although supported by the Protestant Episcopal Church, it did not limit its work to mothers of this faith only, and it took a small number of colored mothers. It accepted married or unmarried mothers of any age, for care before and after confinement. It also took in children under 2 years of age in cases where the mother was ill. It formerly worked in close cooperation with the Children's Bureau of Philadelphia, to which it referred its cases for follow-up work. In 1919 a plan was adopted whereby the Sheltering Arms financed a worker who, under the direction of the children's bureau's department of mothers with children, supervised mothers discharged from this institution. This worker later became a regular member of the staff of the Sheltering Arms and was independent of the children's bureau. The Sheltering Arms had always worked in close cooperation with the court. In 1919 it extended its services to the mother with more than one child born out of wedlock.

The Hebrew Sheltering Home, primarily for the care of orphans, was unusual in many ways. Closely affiliated with the Bureau for Personal Service, it cared for children from infancy to 5½ years of age. It also provided both prenatal and postnatal care for unmarried and deserted mothers. In addition to caring for their own children, these mothers, under the direction and supervision of trained nurses, took care of the orphan children, each mother usually caring for three children. In addition to receiving their own and their babies' clothing the mothers were paid \$6 a month for their services. There was also a shop in the building equipped with power machines. Work was secured from factories, and each mother might work from two to three hours a day in the shop. Regular factory prices were paid, and the money earned was given to each individual. The mothers had regular "time off" and were permitted to go to the city, visit relatives, etc. A trained teacher led them in recreational activities two evenings a week. Some of the mothers also attended the public night school near by. This home has recently instituted a course of practical training in child nursing, accompanied by lectures by members of its medical staff, open to such of the mothers as are capable of profiting by the training and also to those who are awaiting admission.

The function of the maternity home in caring for the illegitimate mother deserves and is receiving much consideration. Two questions are raised: First, should the maternity home itself attempt to give medical attendance and care at the time of confinement, or is this a matter which rightly belongs to the specialized health agency, the hospital? Second, aside from the physical care of the mother

and child, is the maternity home the best place that can be provided for the mother, both before and after confinement? Her experience is inevitably so trying and distressing that it would seem best for the mother to get away from those who are undergoing similar or even more complicated difficulties. In many maternity homes the mothers constantly discuss and dwell upon their unfortunate experiences, and it has been suggested that boarding homes in private families should be found where the mother would receive care for at least a month before confinement and for a period of two months after she leaves the hospital, or as much longer as such a home seems to meet her needs. Thus far, little effort has been made to find such homes in Philadelphia. The inherent difficulties are great and the expense is practically prohibitive under present budgets, unless some maternity home should decide to close its doors and devote its entire budget to pioneer work of this kind, including supervision by a social worker. The per capita expense would probably be no greater under this plan than it is at present. In the main it seems necessary for the present to use the existing maternity homes, which, however, should be used as intelligently as possible.⁹ There is much which can and should be done in every maternity home in order to make it an educative and not a destructive force. The report of the Philadelphia Conference on Parenthood, subcommittee on standards for maternity homes, will be found in Chapter VI.¹⁰

Hospital social-service departments.—Of the hospitals in Philadelphia which gave care to unmarried mothers 18 had social-service departments. It was a serious matter that eight hospitals were without such departments, especially since these included the Maternity Hospital, where of the 108 mothers confined during the year of the study 71 were unmarried. This hospital was established in order to provide a place other than the almshouse for the confinement of unmarried mothers in their first pregnancy. It made no investigation and did no supervisory or follow-up work, but referred mothers as they left it to the Sheltering Arms or the Philadelphia Children's Bureau. St. Vincent's Home and Maternity Hospital, which had an even larger number of illegitimate mothers, was also without a social-service department, but worked closely with the Catholic Children's Bureau. The Philadelphia General Hospital, the University of Pennsylvania Hospital, and the Hahnemann Hospital were three of those having social-service departments.

The Philadelphia General Hospital has already been mentioned as one of the two public agencies dealing with unmarried mothers. In 1917 this hospital was under the Philadelphia Department of

* See "The place of the maternity home," by Francis V. Emerson, in *The Survey*, Aug. 30, 1919, p. 772.

¹⁰ See pp. 90-91.

Health and Charities¹¹ and dealt with many classes of dependent sick besides dependent maternity cases.¹² In the care of maternity it ministered to all types of needs, accepting women who had previously borne children out of wedlock, and also those who had become infected with venereal disease. It had no limitations except that it regularly admitted applicants from Pennsylvania only. An effort was made to collect money from the county of residence for the expenses of a patient from outside Philadelphia, and on discharge from the hospital all such cases were referred back to the county. In the case of a mother from outside the State, the residence was determined, and the social-service department then arranged with agencies in the State of residence to take the case if possible. Like the court and the private agencies, this hospital social-service department suffered from constant pressure of overwork. In 1917 only 1 of its 10 workers handled maternity cases, though the statistical report of the department shows that during that year it cared for 245 unmarried mothers, including some recurrent and some new cases.¹³ In 1921 this hospital opened a prenatal clinic, and it was planned that more intensive work, medical, psychological, and social, would be undertaken for every patient admitted.

The illegitimate mother who in her extremity had come to this hospital for confinement might be admitted at any time during her pregnancy. In return, while waiting for her confinement and as her health permitted, she was expected to do scrubbing, errands, and waiting on the bed patients. She might stay in the institution as long as necessary after confinement. The usual period was three weeks. The worker from the social-service department did as thorough social case work as the pressure of other work would permit. Psychological examinations were given when there was indication of mental defect, use was made of the Philadelphia Social-Service Exchange, and there was close cooperation with the court.

The University of Pennsylvania Hospital, as already noted, was the first to develop a social-service department, and its work for the illegitimate mother was of unusually high quality. The hospital had a maternity ward, and one social worker specializing on maternity cases. In the year studied, 21 illegitimate mothers were

¹¹ In 1919 the new city charter placed this hospital under the Philadelphia Department of Public Health.

¹² The problem of dependent and neglected children and of the feeble-minded was later transferred from this hospital to the bureau of social service in the Philadelphia Department of Public Welfare.

¹³ This maternity case worker had the assistance of a senior student nurse. The number of cases given is probably considerably larger than the actual number followed up, since unmarried mothers treated in other departments—psychopathic, medical, etc.—were included, and a considerable number of patients were in need of hospital care only, their social problems being in the hands of other agencies. This helped to lighten the case load, which nevertheless continued to be very heavy. The hospital in 1920-21 showed a decrease in illegitimate cases to 179 out of 361 maternity patients.

supervised, of whom six had been reported by other agencies. The special characteristics of this social-service department were the thoroughness of its investigations and the extent to which supervision was carried on. While it was a specialized health agency, the department saw the need for general family work with many of the mothers, and when it was found impossible to transfer a case this care was given for extended periods of time. The hospital had, however, sought to stimulate other groups to assume this obligation for its patients. The problem of the care of patients who come from out of town and particularly from outside the State had been given a great deal of thought and attention. The decision as to whether the mother in question should be returned to her own town and her own people was in every case based on a careful investigation of the facilities for care in her own community—a procedure which involves the expenditure of considerable time and money, but is the only adequate way to meet the problem.

The social-service department of Hahnemann Hospital had an especially difficult problem in its work for the unmarried mother, for the numbers coming to it had steadily increased, and it had not had an adequate staff. Between October 1, 1916, and September 30, 1917, the department had under care 16 illegitimate mothers, of whom nine were reported by other agencies. In 1920-21 it was caring for 250. The entire social-service staff consisted of the head worker and two assistants, whose efforts were supplemented by a limited amount of volunteer service. Because the hospital had such a limited number of workers and because it believed that the approach to the mother at the time of confinement was peculiarly opportune, it made an arrangement whereby the department of mothers with children of the Philadelphia Children's Bureau was to send to the hospital, whenever necessary, a worker who would assume all responsibility for personal contact with the mother and carry on the investigation, supervision, and follow-up work. This plan was not adequately carried out, because the children's bureau in its turn was not equipped to give such intensive care, and the social care of these mothers became a serious problem for the hospital's social-service department.

In the Philadelphia Lying-in Charity Hospital both married and unmarried mothers received care. Of the 462 children born in the hospital during the year ended April 30, 1917, 26 were born out of wedlock; in 1920-21 the illegitimate births among its total of 328 cases numbered 153. The social-service department never had more than one worker, and in 1921, unfortunately, it was discontinued.

The hospital social-service department, because it has so rare an opportunity in its contact with the mother at a crucial moment in

her life, is an agency of major importance in relation to the illegitimacy problem. The question as to the exact function of the hospital social-service department in the treatment of the illegitimate family has been much discussed. In an excellent paper presented at the Inter-City Conference on Illegitimacy in April, 1921,¹⁴ Miss Gertrude L. Farmer, of the Boston City Hospital, stated that in her opinion this function was the same as with any other group of clients, and she defined it as follows: "To assist in the aftercare of ward and out-patients through the medium of social case work, so as to render their hospital care more effective and to restore them to health and to social and economic efficiency." In the unmarried mother leaving the hospital, Miss Farmer saw a convalescent adult, physically weak and socially maladjusted.

Following this line of thought, it may be assumed that hospital social-service departments should be equipped to do general case work with individuals who have health problems, giving supervision as long as it is needed, and bringing into full play the resources of the patient and of the community. If this were done, there would be no need to make an exception in the case of the supervision of the unmarried mother. An opinion exactly opposite is held by many, however—i. e., that the hospital social-service department is a specialized agency for case-work adjustments only so far as health is concerned, long-time supervision being impossible because of the bulk of the work. This applies particularly to the unmarried mother. Were the field thus defined, it would be desirable to have a central agency make a contact before the birth of the child and take over all the case work, or, where this was impossible, to transfer practically every case soon after the birth of the child.¹⁵

Other agencies.—Two other agencies have been mentioned as providing care after confinement—the Visiting Nurse Society of Philadelphia and the Cinnaminson Home. The visiting nurse society supervised a few illegitimate mothers in the home before and after confinement—7 in the year 1916–17. The society did not carry on long-time supervision, but was a specialized health agency, transferring all social case-work problems to other agencies. The Cinnaminson Home was one of four homes within reach of the city for the convalescent care of mothers both married and unmarried. It laid particular emphasis on training in the care of the child.

Child care.

"Child care" here signifies the type of care needed by mother and child when they are to be placed together or when foster care or

¹⁴ Conference on Work for Unmarried Mothers, under the auspices of the Inter-City Conference on Illegitimacy, Philadelphia, April, 1921.

¹⁵ For the report on hospital social-service standards formulated by a subcommittee of the conference on parenthood and the hospital social-service association, see pp. 91–92.

placement of the child alone is necessary. How many of the mothers in the group studied made application to the agencies primarily for child care the schedules do not definitely indicate, unless such an indication is contained in the fact that the mothers of 173 children, or 27 per cent, of the 632 included in the study, made their first application for help to the child-caring agencies. Among the reasons for application which implied need for child care, the one which appeared most frequently was the mother's financial inability to care for the child. This inability was apparently acute for 119 mothers, of whom 24 had no home and 81 no work. The mother's physical, mental, or moral unfitness, or her abandonment of the child, were other reasons showing the need of child care.

The development of the Children's Aid Society and the Children's Bureau of Philadelphia has already been described.¹⁶ The division of work between these two agencies resulted in all cases of illegitimacy being referred to the department of mothers with children of the Philadelphia Children's Bureau. In 1916-17 this department was struggling with a staff of four workers and limited facilities to serve the 640 unmarried mothers with children coming to it for guidance in the course of a year.¹⁷ A certain degree of failure inevitably resulted.

A reorganization of the children's bureau's department of mothers with children was effected in 1918. The agencies in Philadelphia, awakened by certain activities—especially by the monthly case conferences and by the present study under the auspices of the Federal Children's Bureau—expressed to the board of directors of the Philadelphia Children's Bureau their desire for leadership in the attack on the problem of illegitimacy and requested the board to make the department of mothers with children the central agency in the city for this work, to which they all might turn for direction and guidance and in whose hands might be placed the general supervision of a large number of cases. It was conceived that illegitimacy is in the main a child-welfare problem, and that therefore the leading child-welfare agencies were, or should be, the logical resources for expert assistance in dealing with it. The board of directors of the children's bureau responded by appointing a new executive for the department who was trained in general family work, and by increasing and strengthening the staff. The reorganized department set out to do both general and specialized work for the illegitimate mother and

¹⁶ See pp. 14-16.

¹⁷ A number of these Philadelphia Children's Bureau cases were placement cases only, the investigations and plans having been made by other agencies—the society for organizing charity the hospital social-service departments, etc. For this reason the case load was probably not so heavy as it might seem. On the other hand mothers in domestic service, often outside the city, require a great deal of supervision.

child. The effort at close cooperation with Hahnemann Hospital has already been described. Particular emphasis was laid upon the health of the mother, a physical examination being required in every case. The department also made increased use of psychological examinations, cooperated closely with the court, and studied the vocational needs of the mothers. It raised its standards in placing the mother and baby by having an employment visitor devote full time to investigating places at service. The following conditions were prescribed:

1. The employer shall show a certain sense of social responsibility in regard to both the mother and the child.
2. The employer shall agree—
 - (a) To consider all information in regard to the mother as confidential.
 - (b) To allow the mother adequate time to take proper care of her child.
 - (c) To consult with the department of mothers with children in regard to any difficulties before discharging the mother, with the added understanding that every mother shall have at least one week's notice.
 - (d) To see that the child has one quart of unskimmed milk daily, and a separate crib.
 - (e) To grant the mother a half day off weekly, in addition to time for church attendance and every other Sunday off.
 - (f) To pay the mother a wage of not less than \$4.50 to \$5 weekly.

The department soon found itself confronted with a volume of work completely beyond its ability to handle. It was thus struggling under difficult conditions when the work of the whole children's bureau underwent a complete reorganization. With the strengthening of the reception and placing-out departments and the development of a health and mental-hygiene clinic, it was found that the budget of the children's bureau would not permit the extensive general work for unmarried mothers then being carried on by the department of mothers with children. Moreover, the new superintendent of the bureau considered that such work was not logically part of the work of a child-caring agency, and that cases of unmarried mothers and their children needing the specialized care of a children's agency should pass through the reception department, and if necessary the placing-out department, in the same manner as all other cases coming to the bureau. The department of mothers with children was therefore discontinued on January 1, 1921. The children's bureau continued to give some general family care to unmarried mothers, because there were so few agencies in the city equipped to do it; but its aim was, as soon as possible, to restrict its activities to specialized child-caring work—that is, home-finding for mother and child together or for the child alone—in this type of case as in every other. It recommended that the Bureau for Personal Service develop specialized foster care for Jewish un-

married mothers and their babies and that the Catholic Children's Bureau, in accordance with its expressed desire, be the agency to perform this service for Roman Catholic mothers and children; the children's bureau could then limit its efforts in the field of illegitimacy to a specialized foster-care service for the children of Protestant mothers.

General assistance and supervision.

Since by this plan a considerable number of unmarried mothers needing supervision and care of a general type were left unassigned to any particular agency, it may be well to review the agencies equipped for general supervision.

The work of some of the general supervising agencies—the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, the United Hebrew Charities, and others—has already been described.¹⁸ The Girls' Aid, formerly known as the Court Aid, had a volunteer probation program before the municipal court provided its present staff of probation officers. Its present aim is to help all girls living in or near Philadelphia who come to it in any kind of need; but to avoid duplication, it now refers all Jewish girls to the Bureau for Personal Service. All cases of illegitimacy it refers to the Philadelphia Children's Bureau, with the exceptions of the Jewish and of illegitimate mothers who have been known to it for a considerable period before pregnancy. All cases of colored girls in which illegitimacy is not involved, the society refers to the Philadelphia Association for the Protection of Colored Women.

At the time of this study, however, the Girls' Aid cared for any unmarried mother who came to it for assistance, and in 1916-17, 24 children born out of wedlock and their mothers were cared for by this agency. Like the Bureau for Personal Service, it endeavored to place the mother with her baby in the mother's parental home; it placed a decreasing number of mothers at domestic service. This agency did work of a very high standard. It was, however, primarily interested in preventive work with girls and was not to be regarded as an agency that would undertake the general supervision of many cases of unmarried mothers.

A second supervising agency to which a small proportion of the unmarried mothers came was the Travelers' Aid Society, which assisted all travelers—men, women, and children—who were in need of assistance. This agency usually met the need only temporarily until the proper agency could be determined upon and called in; but occasionally, when no other arrangement seemed satisfactory, it continued its care and supervision. In the year studied it cared for 12 children born out of wedlock and their mothers. This agency

¹⁸ See pp. 23-24.

had a high standard of work, using the Philadelphia Social-Service Exchange, cooperating actively with the court, and making use of medical examinations and treatment and psychological tests. It could not, however, be expected to extend its work for unmarried mothers, since it wished rather to limit the work even more closely.

Many illegitimate mothers had been helped by the Women's Directory of Philadelphia, which since 1893 had served as a clearing house for young women in trouble of any kind, seeking to give them friendship, advice, and aid, and to help those who were mothers in meeting their parental obligations. Of the 132 maternity cases which it referred to other agencies in one year, 98 were illegitimate. This organization was especially interested in the right instruction of children in matters of sex as a means of prevention against illegitimacy and immorality of all kinds.

CONCLUSIONS.

In the city of Philadelphia, it is estimated, more than 1,100 children are born out of wedlock each year. About 50 per cent of them come to the attention of some social agency before the end of the second year of life. How many later become a burden to society by reason of their delinquency and dependency, there is no present means of knowing.

At the time of this study a large number of agencies of various kinds, representing considerable resources, were offering care of one type or another to mothers out of wedlock and their children. However, there was a gap in the provision for such mothers and children. None of these agencies was properly equipped to meet the need for general case work among them, and the facilities of the community were limited also in convalescent care for mothers of the colored race. Few agencies measured up to the minimum standards which they themselves had formulated and adopted; few were doing modern, scientific social case work of a good quality. The organizations themselves could not be held entirely responsible for this condition, which was mainly a reflection of the indifference of an imperfectly enlightened public. On the other hand, it would seem that only a few of the social agencies were awake to their opportunities. There was no aggressive leadership to focus public opinion and to hold up higher standards.

Scientific research in the fields of psychiatry, psychology, and applied sociology is making rapid advances. The great present need is the education not merely of a small group of philanthropists but of the public as a whole, so that the extension of private and public social service may be supported and boards of directors may be encouraged to adopt efficient and farsighted policies and methods.

The whole question of responsibility for service and leadership in the field of social work with the illegitimate mother, father, and child needs clarification. At the present time, in Philadelphia as well as in other parts of the country, there is controversial discussion regarding centralization both as to intake and as to the whole service given, the type of agency which should be called upon to do the general work for the illegitimate family (including mother, father, and child), and many other questions.

In an effort to reach agreement as to some of these questions, a plan, which will be found in Chapter VI,¹⁹ was drawn up in January, 1921, by a special committee of the Philadelphia Conference on Parenthood. This plan can not be made effective until general family case-work agencies materially increase their budgets and equip themselves for additional burdens.

At this point the question as to the extension of the activity of the public agencies in this field may well be raised. It has been agreed by the committees who have formulated standards that the court should afford a specialized legal service, that the work of the Philadelphia General Hospital should center around the health problem, and that the Philadelphia Department of Public Welfare should undoubtedly include work with the illegitimate family. The feeble-minded unmarried mothers and those who come from outside the city would seem to be especially appropriate charges for this department.²⁰

A recent development of great promise, for Philadelphia as well as for the State, is the Pennsylvania State Department of Public Welfare created by the legislature of 1921. This department is authorized to establish bureaus, not to exceed four in number, including a bureau of mental health and one devoted to child welfare. It is given supervision over "all institutions, associations, and societies within this Commonwealth into whose care the custody of delinquent, dependent, or neglected children may be committed, and all houses and places maintained by such institutions, associations, or societies in which such children may be kept or detained," and also over "homes and premises of those in which is conducted the business of receiving, boarding, or keeping infant children under 3 years of age." While the protection of children born out of wedlock is not specifically mentioned in the act, these provisions should enable the department to do much toward improving standards of child protection in every part of the State. Pennsylvania is still far

¹⁹ See pp. 92 ff.

²⁰ Provision for the custodial care of the feeble-minded is being increasingly recognized as a public function; it therefore seems wise to centralize in the department of public welfare the care of cases for which institutional care is not available. In the case of a mother from outside the city, the public agency can work most effectively either in securing support from her own community or in returning her to it.

behind Minnesota and other States in regard to the care of children born out of wedlock. It is to be hoped that further legislation may soon be passed, strengthening the powers of the department. The Regional Conferences on Standards of Legal Protection for Children Born out of Wedlock²¹ held that it is the duty of the State to protect the interests of such children and recommended the creation of State departments having the responsibility for child welfare, including the duty of assisting unmarried mothers and children born out of wedlock. They also held that the licensing and supervision of private hospitals and child-helping and child-placing agencies are essential, to the end that unfit hospitals and agencies may be improved or eliminated. To accomplish such results in Pennsylvania the following legislation is needed: (1) A law requiring notification of all illegitimate births to a State department by all maternity homes and physicians; (2) a law making such department responsible for the initiation of court proceedings; and (3) a law granting authority to create county child-welfare boards. In this way the responsibility for general case work with these families would be divided between public and private agencies, in Philadelphia as well as throughout the State. Thus the many gaps in the present treatment of illegitimacy might be filled and more scientific work accomplished.

²¹ See *Standards of Legal Protection for Children Born out of Wedlock: A report of regional conferences*, pp. 15-17. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 77, Conference Series No. 3. Washington, 1921.

CHAPTER III. THE PARENTS OF THE CHILD BORN OUT OF WEDLOCK.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PARENTHOOD.

Society, as at present constituted, places certain definite responsibilities upon parents. The provision of food, shelter, raiment, and medical care in sickness, fundamental training in behavior, and the supervision of school attendance, are commonly regarded as primarily the duties of those responsible for the existence of a child. The manner in which these responsibilities are discharged depends upon many factors in the lives of the parents. Mental capacity, health, earning power, education, ideals—all these condition more or less the quality of service which parents will render. Society directly influences the quality of parenthood only in a negative way—that is, legislation in regard to parenthood merely establishes minimum standards below which no parent is allowed to fall in caring for his child. Public opinion, through education, may do much more by stressing the unparalleled privilege—the opportunity for self-expression—that parenthood offers in the building of a human personality, which Giddings calls “the supreme physical, mental, moral, spiritual product of universal evolution.”¹

In some primitive societies even the biologic responsibility of the father is unacknowledged; the sense of his social responsibility seems to be a matter of very slow evolution. Especially in discussions of illegitimacy, emphasis has been placed almost entirely on the relation of mother and child, and the illegitimate father has largely been ignored. The recognition of the full significance of fatherhood leads inevitably to the conclusion that a father who fails to play an active part in his child's life wrongs him just as truly as does the father who drinks or steals, or who actually maltreats him.

This study endeavors to analyze some of the factors in the lives of illegitimate parents. What are the characteristics of the mother and father of the child born out of wedlock? To what influences have they been subject? What were their ages at the birth of the child? What has been their education? What have been their recreational and social opportunities? What family obligations have they in addition to the care of the child in question?

¹Giddings, Franklin H.: *Principles of Sociology; Readings, Instructions, and Summary of Theory*, p. 13. Columbia University, 1910.

Although for a full understanding of the problem of illegitimacy a knowledge of the illegitimate fathers is necessary, the attitude of the public makes it impossible to obtain more than a few facts regarding them.² In the following discussion of the 629 cases of illegitimacy studied, the facts known concerning the mothers are therefore more varied in character and usually cover a larger percentage of the cases than the facts known concerning the fathers.

RACE, NATIVITY, AND RESIDENCE.³

The parents of children born out of wedlock in Philadelphia were in the main of the white race; however, a much larger percentage of colored than of white births were illegitimate. This fact is brought out by comparing the racial distribution of the parents of all children born out of wedlock in Philadelphia in 1916 and that of the parents in the special study with the racial distribution of the parents of the total number of live-born children (41,220) in the city in 1916. For the last-mentioned group, only 5 per cent of both the mothers and the fathers were reported as colored; for the total number of illegitimate births (including stillbirths) in 1916 (1,043) 29 per cent of the mothers and 23 per cent of the fathers were colored; in the special study, 23 per cent of the 616 mothers and 19 per cent of the 586 fathers for whom race was reported were colored.

In regard to nativity, the findings indicate that a slightly larger percentage of children born out of wedlock than of all children born in the city during the same period had native white mothers—52 per cent as compared with 50 per cent. Of the total of 41,220 live births in 1916, 47 per cent were to native white fathers; while of the 602 fathers of children born out of wedlock for whom information on this point was ascertained, 40 per cent were native white. The findings of the special study were similar.

Philadelphia was the birthplace of 28 per cent of the mothers of the schedule study and of 10 per cent of the 395 fathers reported upon; 14 per cent of the mothers and 3 per cent of the fathers reported they were born in Pennsylvania outside of Philadelphia; the

² Throughout this study of illegitimacy in Philadelphia, the word "father" means "alleged father." In 76 of the total 629 cases, the identity of the father was not known to have been disclosed by the mother. In 14 of the cases where the father was named, the court declared the alleged father "not guilty"; in 4 instances this decision was apparently technical, being due to the fact that the nonaccess of the husband of the mother could not be legally proved. In 1 of these 4 cases the alleged father admitted paternity, and in the other 3 he and the mother were living as married. Every table, therefore, excludes the 76 fathers whose identity was never learned, and 10 of the 14 whose paternity was not established, in addition to those for whom no information on the given point was obtained. All these are designated as "not reported."

³ All percentages under this heading except for the special study were derived from data in *Vital Statistics of Philadelphia*; Reprint from the Annual Report of the Bureau of Health of the Department of Public Health and Charities, for the year 1916, pp. 50 and 70; and in Third Annual Report of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia, for the year 1916, p. 222.

percentages born in other States were, respectively, 39 and 70. The largest numbers of foreign-born mothers came from Austria-Hungary, Ireland, Russia, Poland, and Italy, and of foreign-born fathers from Italy, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Ireland, Poland, and Germany. As a rule, native women had children by native men.

It is interesting to note that in the 381 cases coming to the attention of the woman's criminal division of the municipal court of Philadelphia in 1916, 28 per cent of the mothers were colored and 74 per cent were native born.⁴

Information was obtained as to the residence of 568 mothers and 370 fathers in the schedule study. Seventy-four per cent of the former and 78 per cent of the latter were living in Philadelphia at the time of the applications to the social agencies; 16 per cent of the mothers and 9 per cent of the fathers were residents of other parts of Pennsylvania; while 10 per cent of the mothers and 11 per cent of the fathers were residents of other parts of the United States.⁵

For the total number of births registered in Philadelphia in 1916, 98 per cent of the fathers were residents of the city when the child was born and only 2 per cent were living elsewhere. Information in regard to residence was available for only 536 of the fathers of the 1,043 children born out of wedlock. In regard to 163, or 30 per cent of these, it was known that they were not residents of the city.⁶ While the residence of the mothers was not included in the vital statistics data, the schedule study shows that practically equal proportions of the mothers and fathers were known to be nonresident. It is a well-known fact that a considerable proportion of unmarried mothers in any large city have come from smaller cities and towns to secure care and to conceal their circumstances from their friends. This probably accounts in part at least for the relatively large proportion of nonresidents among both mothers and fathers.

At least four-fifths of the mothers in the special study had lived in the United States all their lives, and another 5 per cent had lived in this country 10 years or longer. This is indicative of the responsibility of the Nation for the maladjustments in the lives of these young people. Of the 376 mothers reported as to their State residence, 204 had lived in Pennsylvania all their lives, and only about one-tenth had lived in the State less than two years. But most important is the responsibility of the immediate community, for almost a third of the 331 for whom length of residence in Philadelphia was reported had lived there all their lives, and about three-fifths had been residents for two years or more.

⁴ Third Annual Report of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia, for the year 1916, p. 222.

⁵ If it was known that a mother had come to Philadelphia or to Pennsylvania because of her pregnancy, she was not considered a resident of the city or State.

⁶ Percentages derived from data in Vital Statistics of Philadelphia, 1916, pp. 51, 70.

No data were obtained with reference to the length of residence of the fathers in either the city, the State, or the country.

HOME CONDITIONS AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE MOTHER.

Status, character, and mentality of mother's parents.

Conditions in the mother's parental home proved to be important for consideration. Information as to the status of the parents was reported for 413 women. The details were as follows:

Total mothers -----		413	
Both parents living together in the United States -----	118	Neither parent in the United States -----	36
Both parents dead -----	54	One parent not in the United States -----	3
One parent dead -----	163		
Parents divorced, separated, or deserted -----	39		

Thus reports in about seven-tenths of these cases indicated broken homes, or that one or both parents were not in this country.

Considering that illegitimacy is so important a factor in social maladjustments, it is significant that of 515 mothers for whom facts as to legitimacy were known, 30 (6 per cent) were born out of wedlock, a proportion probably at least three times as high as that for the general population.

The influence of the parents' status on the mother's character is not entirely clear. Where the family status was normal, 62 per cent of the mothers reported as to character were of good character,⁷ so far as known; where both parents were dead the corresponding percentage was 54; otherwise the proportion of mothers of good character remained practically the same regardless of the status of the parents.

Information as to the character and mentality of their parents was reported for only 198 mothers, but as shown by the following data more than half of these were handicapped by bad parentage.

Total mothers.....		198
Both parents of normal mentality and good character.....	96	
One or both parents defective or of poor character.....	102	
Insane, epileptic, or mentally subnormal ⁸	16	
Alcoholic.....	25	
Immoral.....	13	
Alcoholic and immoral or otherwise poor.....	18	
Otherwise poor.....	30	

⁷ Only the sexual irregularities of the mother other than the one resulting in the birth of the child of the study are here considered, so that "of good character" means more accurately "of good character except for the offense which is the basis of the study."

⁸ Only 5 were reported as of good character.

If these proportions hold for mothers of children born out of wedlock generally, and if the home is the primary institution for the socialization of the individual, what wonder that many of them showed themselves deficient in their sense of social responsibility.

The correlation between the character of the mother and the character of her parents is, however, not so close as the foregoing might indicate. Considering only unmarried mothers who had in other respects borne a good character, out of 100 such mothers only 63 had parents of good character. Of 91 mothers with parents of good character, only 63 were themselves of good character.

Age of mother at first leaving home.

For the 238 mothers who left home and whose ages were known, the facts as to age at first leaving are as follows:

	Per cent distribution.
Total mothers who left home, 238-----	100
At less than 14 years-----	32
At 14-15 years-----	16
At 16-17 years-----	20
At 18-20 years-----	20
At 21 years and over-----	12

Thus 48 per cent left home when under 16, and more than two-thirds when under 18.

Reasons for leaving home, and subsequent mode of living.

The reasons for leaving home are significant. The broken home was responsible in the cases of 27 per cent of the 260 unmarried mothers⁹ for whom reasons were reported; 7 per cent were driven forth by other unhappy home conditions. Telling figures are found under the reasons "left to secure employment" and "emigrated to the United States," these two groups together accounting for 42 per cent. Only 7 per cent left home to be married, while about 5 per cent left on account of pregnancy, and the remaining 12 per cent for various other reasons.

Some significance may attach to the few available facts as to the mother's mode of living after leaving the parental home. Approximately one-fourth lived with relatives, and another fourth went into domestic service. Nineteen per cent boarded, and decreasing proportions of the remainder returned intermittently to the parental home, lived in their own homes with or apart from the fathers of their children, and lived with friends.

⁹ Of the 629 mothers, 149 never left the parental home, for 96 it was not reported whether they left home, and for 124 the reason for leaving home was not reported.

It was known of 70, or 11 per cent, of the mothers, that they had previously had prolonged agency care, not incidental to the birth or care of the child of this study. Twenty-seven of these had been in the care of correctional institutions (4 of them on account of dependency), 2 had been before the court, and the remainder had been assisted by child-caring or other agencies. In 89 per cent of the cases either there had been no agency care, or there was no information on this point.

These facts suggest that society may perhaps influence the illegitimacy rate by making it possible for a larger proportion of girls to remain at home under proper conditions. If economic necessity is an important factor in influencing many of them to leave home, society should seek to find ways of relief. Aid to mothers with dependent children and scholarships enabling children to remain in school may be commended as helpful expedients.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MOTHER AND OF THE FATHER.

Under this head are considered only those characteristics of the mother and the father which may be presumed to have had a determining influence on the quality of their parenthood.

Age of mother and of father.

The ages at the birth of the first child out of wedlock, reported for 551 of the mothers in the special study, reveal the extreme youthfulness of many of the mothers. Fourteen, or 3 per cent, were under 15 years of age—mere children themselves—at the birth of the first child out of wedlock; 34, or 6 per cent, were under 16 years of age—the legal age of consent in Pennsylvania; 89, or 16 per cent, were under 17 years of age, while 27 per cent, or more than a fourth, had not attained the age of 18 years. Over one-third of the mothers gave birth to the first child out of wedlock between the ages of 18 and 20, inclusive. Comparatively few (15 per cent) were over 24 years of age when they became illegitimate mothers for the first time.

Although at the time of the birth of the children included in the schedule study the age groups of the mothers were more advanced, the problem remained practically the same. One per cent of the 588 mothers for whom age at the birth of the schedule child was reported were under 15 years of age, and 5 per cent were under 16 years, a total of 13 per cent being under 17 years—utterly unprepared for motherhood; 22 per cent were under the age of 18 years. The largest group—over a third of the mothers—were found in the years between 18 and 20, inclusive, while one-fourth were between

21 and 24 years. The percentages for the mothers reported by the municipal court and the division of vital statistics showed the same general age distribution. (See Table III.)

No information is available in regard to the father's age when his first child was born out of wedlock, and for only 50 per cent were records obtained concerning his age at the time of the birth of the child of the study. As would be expected, the fathers were slightly older than the mothers. Seven per cent were under 18 years of age, 28 per cent under 21, and 61 per cent under 25. The largest group were between 21 and 24 years of age, inclusive. Only 39 per cent of the fathers were 25 years of age or over.

TABLE III.—*Age at birth of child: Mothers of children of illegitimate birth (a) in selected group;¹ (b) whose children were born in Philadelphia, 1916; (c) before Philadelphia municipal court, 1916.*

Age at birth of child.	Mothers of children of illegitimate birth—					
	In selected group. ¹		Whose children were born in Philadelphia, 1916. ²		Before Philadelphia municipal court, 1916. ³	
	Number.	Cumulative per cent.	Number.	Cumulative per cent.	Number.	Cumulative per cent.
Total.....	4 588	.....	5 1,049	.....	6 367	.....
Under 15 years.....	6	1	5	.....	8	2
Under 16 years.....	30	5	27	3	25	7
Under 17 years.....	75	13	93	9	44	12
Under 18 years.....	129	22	174	17	78	21
Under 21 years.....	338	57	526	51	204	56
Under 25 years.....	486	83	826	79	307	84
25 years and over.....	102	.....	214	.....	60	.....

¹ Including mothers of live-born children only.

² Figures compiled from Vital Statistics of Philadelphia, 1916, pp. 74, 75; includes mothers of live-born and of stillborn children.

³ Figures compiled from statistics in Third Annual Report of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia, 1916, p. 223; includes mothers of live-born and of stillborn children.

⁴ Excluding 41 mothers for whom age at birth of child was not reported.

⁵ Excluding 3 mothers for whom age at birth of child was not reported.

⁶ Excluding 14 mothers for whom age at birth of child was not reported.

The problem concerns, in the main, the very young woman and the young man. Information was obtained in regard to many more mothers than fathers (588 as contrasted with 317), but a comparative study, where the ages of both were known, shows that four times as many mothers as fathers were under 18 years of age (28 per cent as contrasted with 7 per cent), while 87 per cent of the mothers and only 61 per cent of the fathers were found to be under 25 years of age. (See Table IV.)

TABLE IV.—*Age of mother at birth of child, by age of father; mothers in selected group; Philadelphia.*

Age of mother at birth of child.	Mothers in selected group.								
	Total.	Age of father at birth of child.							
		Under 18 years.	18-20 years.	21-24 years.	25-29 years.	30-34 years.	35-39 years.	40-59 years.	Not reported.
Total.....	629	22	67	104	66	27	16	15	312
Under 18 years.....	129	18	28	27	5	4	2	3	42
18-20 years.....	209	4	33	42	23	3	1	6	97
21-24 years.....	148	.....	4	33	26	6	5	1	73
25-29 years.....	60	.....	1	1	8	7	6	2	35
30-34 years.....	29	.....	.....	1	2	6	.....	3	17
35-39 years.....	12	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	2	.....	9
40 years and over.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Not reported.....	41	.....	1	.....	1	1	.....	.....	38

Where the mothers were young, the fathers were usually young, though there were a few notable exceptions—as in the cases of 3 mothers under 18 years of age and 4 between 18 and 20 in which the fathers were between 40 and 50, and 2 cases of mothers between 18 and 20 in which the fathers were between 50 and 60 years of age.

Of the native-born women 31 per cent were under 18 at the birth of the first child out of wedlock, and of the foreign born only 13 per cent were under this age. For the native born the predominating age group, comprising 34 per cent, was 18 to 20 years, inclusive; for the foreign born the predominating age group, comprising 32 per cent, was 21 to 24 years.

Physical condition of mother.

The physical condition of the mother is vital from the standpoint of her ability to care for her child, but unfortunately information on this point was obtained in regard to only 142; about one-half of these were reported to be in good physical condition, all but 9 having had a physical examination, though 6 others had no Wassermann tests. One mother was partly blind, 5 were deaf or partly deaf, 7 were crippled or deformed, 7 were tubercular, while 14 (10 per cent of the 142) were syphilitic, and 21 (15 per cent) had gonorrhea. In addition there were 11 per cent who were in generally poor condition. It is probable that the grave physical defects among the total 629 mothers would have been noted and reported; hence the proportion reported as subnormal physically among these 142 mothers can not be taken as typical of the entire group.

Mentality of mother.

A surprisingly small number of the mothers—only 43, or 7 per cent—had a mental diagnosis, and therefore the data concerning mentality are of slight significance. Of those examined, 21 were

found to be feeble-minded; 15 abnormal, subnormal, or mentally disordered; 5 normal; and the mental condition of 2 was not reported. It is highly probable that these women were selected for examination because they appeared to be of inferior mentality.

Character of mother and of father.

A large number (43 per cent) of the 490 mothers concerning whose character information was obtained, were of poor character aside from the illegal relationship which is here being considered, and would have been undesirable mothers even if legally married; 57 per cent were of good character, so far as known. Thirty-seven per cent were known to have had other sex irregularities, and a total of 8 per cent had expressed their antisocial tendencies in other ways. (See Table V.) Of the 377 white mothers reported as to character, 58 per cent, and of 110 negro mothers, 51 per cent, had been of otherwise good character, so far as known.

TABLE V.—*Character of mother, by character of father; mothers in selected group: Philadelphia.*

Character of father.	Mothers in selected group.							
	Total.	Character of mother.						
		Good. ¹	Immoral.	Prostitute.	Wayward.	Alcoholic and immoral or otherwise poor.	Otherwise poor.	Not reported.
Total.....	2 538	277	169	7	11	9	17	48
Good ¹	35	21	11	.....	.....	.....	2	1
Alcoholic.....	5	4	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Immoral.....	78	6	66	.....	.....	2	.....	3
Otherwise delinquent.....	6	2	.....	1	1	.....	.....	2
Alcoholic and immoral or otherwise poor.....	10	3	5	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Immoral and otherwise delinquent.....	4	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Otherwise poor.....	89	64	14	3	2	1	1	4
Absconded.....	40	26	9	.....	.....	.....	2	3
Identity not known.....	76	15	23	.....	1	3	1	33
Not reported.....	195	136	36	2	7	2	11	1

¹ Aside from the sexual irregularity resulting in the birth of the child included in this study.

² Excluding 91 cases not reported as to character of mother or of father.

Information concerning the fathers is meager, but certainly less favorable; the percentages are based upon only a small proportion of the total—about one-third. (See Table V.) Only 13 per cent of the 267 fathers concerning whom there was information were of “good character” and therefore potentially satisfactory husbands and fathers. The other 87 per cent (including 15 per cent who had absconded) had shown some form of antisocial tendency.

This character study throws light upon the quality of parenthood which these parents could have given had they been legally married.

Forty-three per cent of the mothers and 87 per cent of the fathers concerning whom information was obtained had apparently shown such traits of character as would have made them undesirable parents even if legally married.¹⁰ Unquestionably, the children of such parents form a disadvantaged group in society and are in peculiar need of protection and assistance.

Character of mother's social relations with father.

A considerable number of the mothers had had more or less permanent relationships with the fathers of their children. In 311 cases the records contained no information with reference to the relationship between father and mother. In 19 cases the agencies reported that it was impossible to determine paternity. In 36 per cent of the remaining 299 cases in which the character of the relationship between mother and father was reported, the mother either had been illegally married to the father of the child or had lived with him as wife or as mistress: in 16 per cent she had "kept company" with him. The remaining 48 per cent of this group were distributed as follows: Twenty-four per cent had apparently come to know the father in a fairly normal way—the father either living in the same household (for example, as a boarder or as a relative of the family) or being a family friend, schoolmate, employer, fellow employee, or neighbor; 15 per cent had only short or chance acquaintanceships; 2 per cent had become mothers through their trade as prostitutes; and 7 per cent were unclassified. Of the total number of cases, 5 per cent were known to involve rape, and 6 per cent involved breach of promise of marriage.

In 14, or 2 per cent, of the 629 cases the mothers and fathers were closely related by blood or marriage. In one case the girl's father was involved, in three cases a stepfather, and in four a brother-in-law. Three of these cases were reported as rape. Eleven of the 14 mothers had been of good character, so far as known.

Mother's educational history.

The educational history of the mothers of this study did not appear to be very different from that of the general population. Of 214 mothers concerning whom there is information on this point, 90, or 42 per cent, left school when 14 years of age; 14 per cent remained until 15; 20 per cent until 16 or 17; and 8 per cent were in school until they were 18 years of age or over. (See Table VI.)

Of the 305 mothers reported as to amount of schooling, 6 per cent had not reached the fourth grade, 20 per cent had reached only the

¹⁰ See "Standards of constructive parenthood," by Mrs. Frank D. [Amey Eaton] Watson, in *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1918*, pp. 102-108; also the *Survey*, Vol. IX (July 26, 1919), p. 622.

sixth grade, 10 per cent had attained only the seventh grade, and 14 per cent the eighth grade; 19 per cent had attended high school, 10 per cent having attained the upper classes. There were 3 mothers who had attended college or normal school and 3 who had attended business school.

TABLE VI.—*Age at leaving school, by grade entered or completed; mothers in selected group: Philadelphia.*

Age at leaving school.	Mothers in selected group.						
	Grade entered or completed						
	Total.	Under fourth grade.	Fourth grade.	Fifth and sixth grades	Seventh and eighth grades.	High school.	College and normal school.
Total.....	1380	18	37	² 112	² 76	⁴ 59	3
Under 12 years.....	8		1	2			5
12 years.....	12	1	2	3	1		5
13 years.....	14	1	1	4	1	1	6
14 years.....	90	2	15	35	14	3	21
15 years.....	30	1	2	10	4	3	10
16-17 years.....	43	1		2	11	8	21
18 years and over.....	17		1	1		6	7
Not reported.....	166	12	15	55	⁶ 45	⁵ 38	1

¹ Excluding 230 mothers not reported as to age and grade (of whom 1 was reported as having attended grammar school and 3 as having had "little schooling") and 19 mothers who never attended school (2 native born, 17 foreign born but in the United States from 2 to 17 years).

² Including 51 who attained only the fifth grade; of these 25 were known to be 14 years of age or over.

³ Including 32 who attained only the seventh grade; of these 14 were known to be 14 years of age or over.

⁴ Including 29 who were known to have reached the upper classes.

⁵ Including 1 who attended business school.

⁶ Including 1 "eighth grade and a business course."

The reasons for leaving school are enlightening. Of 190 mothers for whom reasons were reported, 126 (66 per cent) left to go to work; 18 (9 per cent) left because their help was needed at home; thus three-fourths left for economic reasons. Only 7 mothers left because they had been graduated from the schools they were attending—1 at 14 years of age, 2 between 16 and 17, and 3 at 18 years, the age not being reported in 1 case. The causes which accounted for a further 10 per cent included indolence, taking up sewing, and in 1 case going to live with the father of the child. Pregnancy terminated the education of 9 per cent, including 1 girl of 13 years, 2 of 14, and 5 of 15 years of age.

Economic efficiency of mother and of father.

Mother's occupational history.—Early employment is often caused by economic insufficiency or undesirable conditions in the parental home. In addition to this unfortunate background, the girl who goes to work early generally has no training for her work and

is apt to have little interest in it and few opportunities for advancement. One hundred and fifty-one mothers^{10a} had never, so far as known, been gainfully employed before the birth of the child of the study, and for 352 the age at beginning work was not reported. Of the 126 mothers for whom ages of starting employment were reported, 15 per cent began when under 14 years of age, 23 per cent at the age of 14 years, 16 per cent at 15 years, 25 per cent at 16 or 17 years, and 21 per cent at 18 years or over.

A study of the age of the mother at the birth of the child in comparison with the last occupation previous to the birth of the child should throw some light on the relation of occupation to illegitimacy. Of the 129 mothers under 18 years of age in the schedule study, 36 per cent were servants, 30 per cent semiskilled workers, 5 per cent clerks, 1 per cent professional women, and 19 per cent without gainful occupation, while for 10 per cent facts as to occupation were unreported. The proportion in domestic service increased for each succeeding age group, until it became 53 per cent of the 60 mothers in the 25 to 29 year age group, while the proportion reported as unemployed decreased from 19 per cent of the mothers under 18 years to 3 per cent of those 25 to 29 years of age.

Of the 62 mothers under 18 years of age at confinement concerning whom facts as to subsequent occupation were known, over half went into domestic service, about one-fifth became semiskilled workers, 2 did clerical work, and 13 entered no gainful occupation. A larger percentage of the 18 to 20 year group entered clerical occupations than of either of the other groups, and a larger percentage of the 21 to 24 year group became semiskilled workers. However, at least three-fifths of each of the last two groups entered domestic service. Too much importance should not be attached to this, because the choice of occupation depends very largely on education and native ability. The conditions under which work is done should be emphasized rather than the type of employment.

The degree and kind of education and training must be given due weight in considering the kind of occupational opportunities that should be open to mothers out of wedlock.

A summary of the mothers' occupations before and after the birth of their children is given in Table VII.

^{10a} Including "not reported" group.

TABLE VII.—*Occupation before, by occupation after birth of child; mothers in selected group whose children were 6 months of age and over at close of care: Philadelphia.*

Occupation previous to birth of child.	Mothers in selected group whose children were 6 months of age and over at close of care.										
	Total.	Occupation subsequent to birth of child.									
		House-worker.	Waitress.	Other servant.	Char-woman and laundress.	Laundry worker.	Factory worker.	Seamstress.	Clerk in store.	Office worker.	Not gainfully employed.
Total.....	212	116	3	16	11	6	29	4	5	6	16
Houseworker.....	85	68	1	6	5	2	1				2
Waitress.....	12	7	1	1	1					1	1
Chambermaid (hotel).....	2	2									
Other servant.....	12	7		4							1
Charwoman and laundress.....	8	1		1	3		1	1			1
Laundry worker.....	6	3			1	2					
Factory worker.....	45	14		2		1	22			2	4
Seamstress.....	5						1	3			1
Hairdresser.....	1										1
Clerk in store.....	7	1					2		4		
Office worker.....	5	1		1						3	
Telephone operator.....	1						1				
Actress.....	1								1		
Teacher.....	1	1									
Not gainfully employed.....	21	11	1	1	1	1	1				5

Information as to type of gainful occupation both before and after the birth of the child was received in the cases of 212 mothers.¹¹ Of the 191 employed before the child was born, 58 per cent continued the same type of occupation afterwards. Sixteen mothers who had not been gainfully employed previous to the birth entered employment subsequently, 15 of them in housework or in cognate occupations, 1 becoming a factory operative. On the other hand, 11 mothers who had been employed previously were unemployed after the child's birth. Of the 85 women employed in housework before confinement, 68 returned to the same occupation. There were 48 other women employed in housework after the birth of their children, of whom 17 had been in cognate occupations, 17 had been factory or laundry operatives, 1 each had been a clerk in a store, an office worker, and a teacher, and 11 had been in no gainful occupation. Of the 45 factory operatives, almost half returned to that type of employment; of the remainder 16 went into service, 2 into office work, and 1 into a laundry, and 4 did not enter any gainful occupation. The telephone operator became a factory worker, and the actress became a clerk in a store.

¹¹ Cases were included only if the children were at least 6 months of age at the close of care.

Mother's earnings.—In considering the mother's earnings, two facts which it was found impossible to include in the following discussion should be kept in mind: (1) The majority of the mothers were working at domestic service; if they were "living in"—i. e., receiving board and lodging in addition to a specified wage—their wage plus living must be used as a basis of comparison with the wage of those mothers who were living away from their work. (2) If the mother kept the child with her, it must be realized that in the actual care of the child she was doing a productive piece of work which required considerable time and energy. It has been stated that a mother at domestic service who is adequately caring for her child is able to give little more than half-time to her work.¹² Therefore, in considering the wage earned by the mother after the birth of the child, a distinction should be made between a mother caring for the child in addition to her work and one who was paying for his care.

Earnings before the birth of the child of the study were reported for 363 mothers; ^{12a} of those under 18 years of age more than one-third earned less than \$5 per week, and of those 18 years of age or over about the same proportion earned from \$5 to \$6. Among the 213 mothers reported as to earnings after the birth of the child, less than \$5 a week was the wage most frequently reported, both by those under and by those over 18 years of age. No mother under 18 years of age and only 4 over that age earned more than \$10 per week after the birth of their children, although 2 mothers of the former group and 10 mothers of the latter had previously earned such wages. (See Table VIII.) In a few individual cases the mother earned more after the birth of the child than before. It must be remembered that these wages cover, roughly, a period of two years prior to September 30, 1917—before the higher wage scales had been established. Also, as pointed out above, a large proportion of the mothers were receiving maintenance as well as money wages. Even so, the wages were extremely low.

¹² See "The unmarried mother at work," by Ida Garrett Murphy, in the Survey, Vol. XLIII (Feb. 28, 1920), pp. 641-642.

^{12a} It was not specified whether with or without maintenance.

TABLE VIII.—*Weekly earnings, by age; mothers in selected group employed before and after birth of child: Philadelphia.*

Earnings per week.	Mothers in selected group employed—					
	Before birth of child.			After birth of child.		
	Total.	Under 18 years of age.	18 years of age and over.	Total.	Under 18 years of age.	18 years of age and over.
Total.....	363	93	270	213	37	176
Less than \$5.....	104	35	69	78	13	65
\$5 to \$6.....	122	24	98	38	8	30
\$7 to \$8.....	41	5	36	20	1	19
\$9 to \$10.....	26	3	23	16	2	14
\$11 to \$12.....	5	—	5	3	—	3
\$13 and over.....	7	2	5	1	—	1
None.....	58	24	34	57	13	44

Occupation and earnings of father.—Of 357 fathers whose occupations were reported, the largest group (29 per cent) were semi-skilled workers; laborers made up the next largest group (20 per cent), and skilled workers formed 15 per cent; 10 per cent were clerks and salesmen; 9 per cent belonged to the servant group; 6 per cent were official and semiofficial public employees; 6 per cent were proprietors, officials, and managers; 2 per cent were professional men; and 3 per cent (including 8 students) had no gainful employment. In other words, nearly three-tenths of these fathers were laborers and servants. The detail is shown in the list given below:

Total fathers reported.....	357
Proprietors, officials, managers:	
Farmers.....	8
Retail dealers.....	5
Others.....	7
Clerks and salesmen:	
Real estate and insurance agents.....	6
Salesmen and traveling salesmen.....	21
Others.....	10
Skilled workers:	
Carpenters.....	6
Machinists.....	15
Others.....	31
Semiskilled workers:	
Barbers.....	6
Chauffeurs.....	16
Deliverymen.....	20
Apprentices.....	8
Factory operatives.....	30
Others.....	23
Laborers:	
Farm.....	6
Others.....	65

Servants:	
Porters	10
Others	22
Official and semiofficial public employees:	
Soldiers	6
Sailors and marines	8
Others	8
Professional men	9
No gainful occupations:	
Students	8
Others	3

Of the 186 fathers concerning whom the schedules yield data on earnings, 6 per cent were earning no wage. A little over one-third earned from \$10 to \$14 per week, and over one-fourth earned from \$15 to \$19; one father (a semiskilled worker) earned less than \$5, 19 per cent earned from \$5 to \$9, and 13 per cent from \$20 to \$29, while only 2 per cent earned \$30 or over a week. The most usual wage for the servant group was from \$5 to \$9 a week, for the semi-skilled workers from \$10 to \$14, and for the skilled workers from \$20 to \$29.

The fact that six-sevenths of the fathers were earning no wages or less than \$20 a week shows how difficult, if not impossible, it was to get adequate support for the children. When one considers that at least 12 per cent of all the fathers were known to be married and to have legitimate families to support, the intricacies of the problem may be realized.

Comparative occupational status of parents.—A comparison of the occupation of the mother and the father shows that in many cases the father and mother were of the same general occupational status. However, in only three of the eight cases in which the father was still in school was the mother, also, still in school.

FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES OF MOTHER AND OF FATHER.

Marital condition of mother and of father.

The problem of illegitimacy is predominantly that of single women and single men, as shown by the following figures concerning the marital condition of the mothers and the fathers:

Total	Mothers. 629	Fathers. 629
Reported as to marital condition	603	414
Single	528	302
Married	9	78
Widowed	16	9
Divorced	9	1
Separated	18	11
Deserted	21	---
Deserting	2	13
Not reported	26	215

Thus, of those for whom there was information, 88 per cent of the mothers and 73 per cent of the fathers were single, the percentages of those who were or had been married being 12 and 27, respectively.

Other children of the mother.

Of the 629 mothers studied, 86 per cent had not, so far as known, borne another child or been again pregnant out of wedlock; of the remaining 88 mothers, 69 had borne one other child out of wedlock, 12 had borne two, 5 had borne three, and 2 had had four. Among the total 588 mothers for whom age at birth of the child of the study was reported, the proportion of "repeaters" was 15 per cent; among the 89 women between 25 and 34 years of age it was 37 per cent.

For the children of the 88 mothers who had borne other children illegitimately or who were again pregnant before the close of the study, the paternity was reported in 77 instances. In 28 cases all the children of a mother had the same father; in 37 cases—practically half—there were two fathers; in 9 cases there were three; and in 3 cases there were four.

Other children of the father.

As would be expected, very little information was obtainable in regard to the father's other children. Of the 88 fathers concerning whom information was secured, 26 had had no other children, so far as known, 32 were known to have had children of legitimate birth, and 24 to have had other children born out of wedlock, while 6 had had children both of legitimate and of illegitimate birth.

SUMMARY.

The percentage of children having colored parents was much larger among illegitimate children born in Philadelphia in 1916 than among all the children live born in the city during that year—26 per cent as compared with 5 per cent. Comparatively more children were born out of wedlock to native white than to foreign-born parents.

Conditions in the mothers' parental homes were far from desirable,¹³ for in only 21 per cent of the cases in which information was given on this point were the mothers' parents of good character, normal mentality, and normal status—both parents present in the home. The mothers in general had left home at a very early age; almost one-third of those for whom age was reported left when under 14 years of age, the broken home being most largely responsible. However, only 11 per cent of the mothers were known to have received previous agency care.

¹³ The conditions in the homes of the fathers, if the facts could have been ascertained, would probably have been found to be equally undesirable.

The largest age group among the mothers was from 18 to 20 years of age, inclusive; the fathers were somewhat older, the largest group being from 21 to 24 years. The facts in regard to the physical condition of the mothers were disappointingly meager. Of the 142 mothers reported as to physical condition, 35 were reported as having either syphilis or gonorrhea. The data in regard to the mentality of the mother were also meager, only 43 of the mothers having had a mental diagnosis; of these, 21 were feeble-minded and 15 others were abnormal, subnormal, or mentally disordered.

Relatively more of the fathers than of the mothers—27 per cent of the fathers as compared with 12 per cent of the mothers for whom information was obtained—had been married.

Forty-three per cent of the mothers and 87 per cent of the fathers concerning whom information was obtained were of poor character, so that entirely apart from the illegality of their relationship they could not, in all probability, have given to the child that type of parenthood which society is more and more coming to regard as essential for the rearing of socially adequate citizens.

The educational history of the mother seems to be fairly typical of that of the mass of the people; grouping the mothers by grade reached, the largest group had reached only the sixth grade. Of the mothers reported as to age at leaving school the largest proportion (42 per cent) had left when 14 years of age. Nineteen per cent of those reported as to grade attained had attended high school, and a total of 3 mothers had attended college or normal school.

Nearly one-fourth of the mothers had never, so far as known, been gainfully employed before the birth of the child. Of the 126 mothers reported as to age at beginning work, 23 per cent went to work at 14 years of age and 15 per cent before reaching that age, but 46 per cent did not go until they were 16 years of age or older. The largest proportion of the mothers had been servants or house-workers, which was also true concerning the illegitimate mothers reported in the vital statistics for 1916. The most frequently reported wage after the child was born was less than \$5 a week, only 4 mothers earning over \$10.

The largest group of fathers for whom occupation was reported (29 per cent) were semiskilled workers; laborers, skilled workers, clerical workers, and servants were also represented. The most usual wage was \$10 to \$14 a week, only 3 fathers earning over \$30 a week.

The facts here presented indicate that the lack of proper outlets for the normal desires of young men and women, especially between the ages of 16 and 25, is a causative factor in this as well as in many other social maladjustments. The racial problem, also, is involved.

The segregation of the feeble-minded would have a real effect upon the problem. The fact remains, however, that the people involved in this study were largely young, single, native-born Americans, coming from homes where the conditions were predominantly far from desirable, and earning a wage which was seldom sufficient for a "health and decency" standard of living. The prevention of illegitimacy, therefore, can not be singled out as a problem unrelated to other fields of social work, for it is closely interwoven with constructive effort in many, if not in all, of these fields. At a crucial time these young people did not have the education which fitted them for life, or work which absorbed their best effort and offered opportunities for advancement. Especially has it been shown that most of them lacked normal homes, of the type in which wise parents share their children's lives and experiences and guide them tactfully into proper activities. The experiences of these young people were such that they did not attain maturity with well integrated personalities. Other young people express their maladjustments in other forms of antisocial conduct.

In other words, illegitimacy is a serious symptom of the fact that the needs of young people are not being met. In particular, they are not being prepared, by their homes or by the community, for the fundamental experience of parenthood.

When society awakes to the significance of an educated and enlightened parenthood, of homes that are real homes, and not mere husks of what homes should be, of schools that cooperate with the parents in understanding the child and educating him for life; when wholesome recreation is available to all, and adequate wages and interesting, creative work are the rule and not the exception—then will illegitimacy, in common with a large number of other social ills, be greatly reduced.

CHAPTER IV. THE PHYSICAL CARE OF THE UNMARRIED MOTHER.

In the general movement for child welfare, great emphasis is being placed upon the care of every mother before, during, and after confinement. Breast feeding also has for some time been considered of the utmost importance, both as a preventive of infant mortality and as a means of building up the health and physique of the child.

For the child born out of wedlock, it may be assumed that these measures have additional importance. If a health problem is added to his social handicap, the child faces almost insuperable difficulties. According to the latest figures, the infant death rate for children of illegitimate birth is greatly in excess of that for children born in wedlock. In two investigations it was found to be three times as high.¹

MOTHER'S LIVING ARRANGEMENTS.

A very close connection exists between the means by which the mother was supported during the last five months of pregnancy and her living arrangements during that period. Means of support during the last months of pregnancy were reported for 445 of the scheduled mothers. Of these, 72 were entirely supported by their own earnings, 21 by the father of the child, 35 by parents or other relatives, and 18 by public or private agencies; the remainder received their support from more than one source. The self-supporting mothers, in the main, boarded or lived in the parental or their own homes, or with relatives. The great majority of those supported entirely or in part by the father lived in their own homes, and most of those supported in whole or in part by the parents lived in the parental home. The data on the rest of the group lead also to the general conclusion that the maternity home and the hospital as a home during pregnancy were usually a last resort when the girl could not meet the situation herself and neither her parents, her relatives or friends, nor the father of the child could or would support her. Although data for the entire period were secured for but 69 per cent of the mothers, during the last five months of pregnancy at least 29

¹ Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem, Part 1, pp. 28-35; Part 2, pp. 89-90. U. S. Children's Bureau Publications Nos. 66 and 75. Washington, 1920 and 1921.

different plans were utilized, the majority of the mothers, however, living in the parental home at least part of the time. The facts seem to indicate that the girls preferred a private home, and that better social care can be given there, provided one is found where normal relationships can be established during this extremely difficult and critical period for the mother and the child.

At the time of application for aid, the usual mode of living for the mothers of the 557 children for whom this information was given was as follows: For the mothers of 41 per cent, the parental home; of 16 per cent, the homes of other relatives; of 9 per cent, their own homes (with, or apart from, the father of the child); of 13 per cent, a boarding home; and of 16 per cent, their places of employment (with a few exceptions, at domestic service).

PRENATAL CARE.

The mothers here considered were under the supervision of social agencies and were to this extent a selected group. Nevertheless, for 130 (21 per cent) of the 629 mothers no prenatal care was reported, indicating either that the mother came to the attention of the agency too late or that certain agencies had poor standards of care, and 69 others had been under supervision for less than a week. For 149 mothers who were cared for in maternity homes or hospitals the length of prenatal care was not reported. The three foregoing groups make a total of 348, or 55 per cent of the 629 mothers. Of the remaining 281, a very large majority had skilled care: Care was received from a private physician in 68 cases, or 24 per cent; in a maternity home or hospital in 172 cases, or 61 per cent; at a clinic or dispensary, or from a visiting nurse or a hospital out-patient department in 36, or 13 per cent; and from a midwife only in 4 cases. (See Table IX.) For 74 of these mothers, who had been cared for by a private physician, midwife, clinic or dispensary, or visiting nurse, the length of prenatal care was not reported; the remaining 207 had care for periods ranging from a week to six months or over.

The value of prenatal care is largely dependent upon the length of time over which the service is given. For these mothers the periods covered were perhaps longer than might have been expected, but they were still far too short; only 14 mothers were known to have received prenatal care for 6 months or over, and only 71 for 3 months or over.

TABLE 'X.—Source of prenatal care, by duration; mothers in selected group who received prenatal care: Philadelphia.

Source of prenatal care.	Duration of care.							
	Total.	1 week.	2 weeks.	1 month.	2 months.	3-5 months.	6 months and over.	Time not reported.
Total.....	1 281	12	30	47	44	57	14	2 77
Private physician.....	61			1	3 3	4 3	2	4 52
Midwife.....	4					1		3
Clinic or dispensary.....	5 32		3	3 1	3 4	3 5	2 5	6 14
Visiting nurse.....	1							1
Hospital out-patient department.....	3			2			1	
Maternity home or hospital.....	165	11	27	42	35	45	5	
Maternity home or hospital and dispensary or hospital out-patient department, or both.....	7	1			2	3	1	
Private physician and visiting nurse.....	6							6
Private physician and midwife.....	1							1
Not reported.....	1			1				

¹ Excluding 130 for whom no prenatal care was reported, 69 to whom care was given for less than 1 week, and 149 maternity home or hospital patients for whom length of prenatal care was not reported.

² Including 3 who received prenatal care for at least 1 week.

³ Including 1 delivered in maternity home or hospital—time there not reported.

⁴ Including 3 delivered in maternity home or hospital—time there not reported.

⁵ Including 10 delivered in maternity home or hospital—time there not reported.

CONFINEMENT CARE.

Place of confinement.

As would be expected, the proportion confined in hospitals and maternity homes was larger for the group of mothers whose residence was outside Philadelphia. The place of confinement of the 583 mothers for whom this information was reported was as follows:

	Per cent distribution.
Total mothers, 583.....	100
Maternity or general hospital.....	57
County hospital.....	1
Maternity home.....	16
Parental or own home.....	15
Relative's or other private home.....	8
Other.....	3

Length of residence in maternity home or hospital.

Hospitals and maternity homes serve different purposes, and their policies with reference to duration of care before and after confinement vary. The general recommendation of the Philadelphia Conference on Parenthood that "the period of care in maternity homes be limited to approximately two to three months before and two months after confinement, the aftercare in the community to be done by the social workers connected with the homes or with the general

or special agencies to which the mothers are referred,"^{1a} applies to hospitals only so far as aftercare is concerned.

Of the 177 mothers whose length of residence in hospitals before the birth of the child was reported, about three-eighths remained for less than a week, and a total of over one-half for less than a month; one-fourth remained for one or two months, and one-fifth for three months or over. This seems to accord with the general agreement that the hospital is a specialized health agency, not to be utilized except when the health problem becomes acute. After the birth of the child, 3 per cent of the 232 mothers reported upon remained for less than two weeks, and a total of 53 per cent for less than a month; one-third remained for one or two months; and 13 per cent for three months or over. It is not known whether the 53 per cent who remained in the hospital for less than one month after confinement received further care.

The period of residence of maternity home patients was found to be longer, in general, than that of hospital patients. Of the 82 mothers concerning whom information was secured, only 13 were in the home for less than a week before the birth of the child, and a total of 31 for less than a month; 34 remained for one or two months, and 17 for three months or over. After the birth of the child, 6 of the 75 mothers reported upon remained for less than two weeks, a total of 20 mothers for less than a month, and another group of 20 for one or two months; 35 mothers, however, were in the maternity home for three months or over.

A really significant point is the amount and type of follow-up work done for these mothers after they left the hospitals and maternity homes. Concerning this no accurate data were available.

Medical service at confinement.

A much larger percentage of the illegitimate mothers than of all mothers who bore children in Philadelphia in 1916 had the services of a physician at confinement. Of the 558 included in this study for whom report was made as to medical service at birth, 96 per cent were attended by physicians² and 3 per cent by midwives, and 1 per cent had no professional service. These percentages coincide very closely with the reports of the Philadelphia Bureau of Health; of 1,043 cases of illegitimate birth in Philadelphia in 1916,³ 96 per cent were attended by physicians and 4 per cent by midwives. On the other hand, of the 41,220 live births in Philadelphia in the same year, only 84 per cent were attended by physicians, 16 per cent were

^{1a} See p. 94.

² For some cases confined in a maternity home or hospital the type of attendance at birth was not reported, but it was assumed that a physician attended.

³ Vital Statistics of Philadelphia, 1916, p. 70.

attended by midwives, and 16 cases were unattended.⁴ This striking difference may be accounted for by the fact that a larger proportion of married mothers are confined in their own homes. The illegitimate mother is frequently forced to go to a hospital. It may be, however, that the inaccuracy of returns for illegitimate births partly accounts for this difference, since illegitimate mothers confined in their homes were more likely than others to be registered as married mothers.

The payment of confinement expenses.

Confinement care was given free in the cases of 266, or 58 per cent, of the 460 mothers for whom this item was reported, being paid for in slightly over 51 per cent from the funds of private agencies, in slightly over 6 per cent from public funds, and in 2 cases from both public and private funds. The father of the child paid all the expenses in 21 per cent, and part of the expense in a further 1 per cent, of the cases; the mother herself met them in 15 per cent, and relatives in 6 per cent. As would be expected, very few of the confinements which took place in private homes were at the expense of public or private agencies.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 51, 52.

CHAPTER V. THE CARE OF THE CHILD BORN OUT OF WEDLOCK.

INTRODUCTION.

One of the most searching tests of the progress of a society is the type of care which it is giving its children. And the most significant test of the standard of Philadelphia's work for the illegitimate family is the extent and quality of care which it insures its children born out of wedlock, first, through their own parents and relatives or, failing that, through the social agencies which represent the community.

A wide divergence of opinion prevails as to methods of obtaining for these children an approximation to normal life. Comparative studies of the methods of treatment in different localities and over long periods of time are needed. However, a constantly changing environment makes impossible regularity of feeding and other habits, the importance of which is already known to scientific social workers, and plans which involve such constant changes for young children may be immediately condemned.

Before a discussion of the various plans utilized for these children is taken up, certain facts vital for an understanding of the problems involved will be presented. These include the place of birth and the race of the children, their age when first brought under care, their physical strength and health, including their morbidity and mortality, and also the policies of the agencies which were responsible for their care.

The amount of detail reported in regard to the care of the children varies considerably, and therefore the following preliminary summary may be helpful.

1. Children whose living arrangements during the entire period of the study were known	264
2. Children concerning whose living arrangements information was secured for only part of the period.....	378
3. Children known to be with mother at some time during the period...	334
4. Children known to be away from mother at some time during the period.....	77
5. Children for whom arrangements at close of care were known (with mother, 248; away from mother, 65).....	313

GENERAL FACTS CONCERNING THE CHILD.

Nativity and race.

As would be expected, the great majority of the 632 children (598, or 95 per cent) were born in Philadelphia. A total of 97 per cent were born in Pennsylvania, and 2 per cent in other States; for 1 per cent the birthplace was not reported. Of the 620 children reported as to race, 76 per cent were white and 24 per cent colored.

Age of child at application for care.

The extent and effectiveness of the care given the mother and child depend largely upon the time when the mother applies for assistance. A larger proportion of white than of colored mothers came to the attention of the social agencies before the birth of their children—46 per cent as contrasted with 35 per cent. This may be attributed largely to differences in social customs between the races.

The mothers of 44 per cent of the 632 children in the study applied to the agencies during pregnancy; of these less than one-tenth applied before the fifth month, less than one-fifth applied during the fifth and sixth months, during the seventh month, and during the eighth month, respectively, and about three-tenths during the ninth month. Of the mothers of the remaining 56 per cent of the children, who applied after the children were born, nearly one-third applied during the first month of the child's life, less than one-fourth during the second month, somewhat more than one-tenth during the third month, and progressively decreasing percentages at later periods.

Few of the mothers came under supervision early enough to insure sufficient prenatal care or to allow the agencies time to make a thorough investigation and establish sound working relations before confinement. The standards formulated by the Philadelphia Conference on Parenthood require at least three months of prenatal care,¹ and every effort is being made to extend the period to six or eight months, since a thorough knowledge of the situation before the birth is necessary to the formation of plans that are likely to be permanent. How to reach the mothers early in pregnancy is a difficult problem. Education of the public in the need for the early care of expectant mothers and in an understanding attitude toward the illegitimate mother seems to offer the best means of attacking it.

In regard to cases in which application is made after the birth, the later it is made the stronger is the likelihood that the mother merely wishes help in carrying out her own plan—which, usually consists in placing the child in an institution or home.

¹ See p. 89.

Infant mortality.

The vital statistics of Philadelphia give no information on the infant mortality rate and the causes of infant deaths of children born out of wedlock, and such information is not available for the children of the schedule study. It is, therefore, impossible to make any comparison on these points with the rates and causes in other places.² It is known, however, that of the 625 children concerning whom information is available as to whether they were alive at the close of care, 91 (15 per cent) had died, 84 having died under 1 year of age, 5 after attaining that age, and 2 at ages not reported. The number known to be surviving at the close of care was, therefore, 534. Nearly one-fifth of the infant deaths occurred before the child was a month old, about one-seventh during the second month of life, and a total of almost two-thirds before the child was 6 months old. The causes were reported for only 40 of the 84 infant deaths.

Physical condition of child.

For only 261 of the 534 children known to be surviving at the close of care was information given in the schedules as to physical condition. Of this number 227 (87 per cent) were not known to have any defect or chronic disease, but the majority of these had not been given physical examinations. Of the remaining 34 children, 2 were known to be rachitic, 2 were tubercular, 1 syphilitic and 1 probably syphilitic, 6 had other chronic diseases, 4 had been born prematurely, and 18 (7 per cent) were in otherwise poor condition.

THE CHILD AND THE SOCIAL AGENCIES.

Age of child at time of application to various types of agencies.

The differing work of the various agencies is indicated by the different ages at which the majority of their cases came to them. The following analysis is based on the cases in which care was given by one agency only. The hospital social-service departments received most of their cases before the child was born—70 out of a total of 95—and practically nine-tenths of them, including these, before the child was a month old. The maternity homes received 67 of their 95 applications before the birth, and only 13 cases after the child was a month old. The court received almost half its applications before the child was born, and a total of 57 per cent before the child had completed the first month of life; some applications came in, however, as late as two years after the date of conception. The supervising agencies received over half of their 55 cases before the birth. On the other hand, the child-caring agencies received only 9 per cent of their 158 cases before the birth, and only 24 per cent

² *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem*, Part 1, pp. 28-35; Part 2, 88-102.

during the child's first month of life. It is apparent that the hospital social-service departments and the maternity homes held strategic positions, and that the court also had a valuable opportunity. Table X gives further detail in regard to age at application and class of agency giving care.

TABLE X.—*Age of child at time of application to agency, by type of agency; children in selected group: Philadelphia.*

Type of agency	Children in selected group.							
	Total.	Age of child at application.						
		Un-born.	Under 1 month.	1 month.	2 months.	3-5 months.	6-11 months.	1 year.
Total.....	632	275	115	78	40	59	49	13
Child-caring agency.....	158	14	38	34	18	25	21	8
Court.....	180	79	23	27	14	22	13	2
Hospital social service.....	97	70	17	1	3	1	3	2
Infant-welfare agency.....	6	6						
Maternity home.....	95	67	15	8		1	3	1
Supervising agency.....	55	30	9	3	3	3	6	1
More than 1 agency:								
Child-caring agency and court.....	22	4	5	4	2	6	1	
Child-caring agency and supervising agency.....	5	2	1				1	1
Court and supervising agency.....	5	4		1			1	
Other ¹	9	5	1	1		1		1

¹ Child-caring agency and hospital social-service department in 2 cases, hospital social-service department and court in 2, and the following combinations in 1 case each: Child-caring agency and maternity home; hospital social-service department and supervising agency; maternity home and court; maternity home and supervising agency; and child-caring agency, court, and supervising agency.

Length of care by various classes of agencies.

In discussing the length of time the cases were under care, a distinction must be made between the cases that were closed during the year of the study and those that were still pending at its end. Of the 316 cases closed during the year for which time under care was reported (see Table XI), only 82, or 26 per cent, had been under care for 6 months or over. Under the minimum standards formulated by the Philadelphia Conference on Parenthood, at least a year of supervision is considered necessary for successful treatment.³ In very few of these 316 cases was this minimum approached.

No information can be given as to the length of time during which the 312 cases pending at the end of the period were further continued under care. Thirty-six per cent had already been under supervision for a year or over, and a further 50 per cent had been under care for from 6 to 11 months, inclusive. When taken in connection with the fact that care was continuing, the extent of supervision in these cases was much more satisfactory.

³ See pp. 89-90.

TABLE XI.—*Duration of care, by type of agency: children in selected group whose cases were closed before September 30, 1917: Philadelphia.*

Type of agency.	Children in selected group whose cases were closed before Sept. 30, 1917.									
	Duration of care.									Not reported.
	Total.	Less than 1 month.	1 month.	2 months.	3-5 months.	6-8 months.	9-11 months.	12-17 months.	18 months and over.	
Total.....	1319	65	58	33	78	35	32	11	4	3
Child-caring agency.	90	8	14	13	29	9	12	3	2	.....
Court.....	59	6	7	6	15	5	5	4	1	.....
Hospital social service.	55	17	14	5	8	6	1	.....	1	3
Maternity home.....	66	25	11	7	10	8	4	1	.....	.....
Infant-welfare agency.....	6	4	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Supervising agency.	35	2	6	2	8	6	8	3	.....	.....
More than 1 agency:										
Child-caring agency and court.....	9	.....	4	.....	4	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Other ²	9	3	2	.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....

¹ Including 86 children who died.² Child-caring agency and hospital social-service department in 1 case, child-caring agency and supervising agency in 3, and the following combinations in 1 case each: Hospital social-service department and court; hospital social-service department and supervising agency; maternity home and court; supervising agency and court; and child-caring agency, hospital social-service department, and court.

A study of the length of care given according to the class of agency may indicate the tendencies in the different groups. If the cases of children who died and cases dealt with by more than one agency are eliminated from consideration, the hospital social-service departments had closed 50 per cent of their cases, the great majority of these having been under care for less than 6 months; on the other hand, those still pending had all been under care for 6 months or over. The maternity homes had closed 57 per cent of their cases, having cared for 21 per cent of them for less than 1 month, without any follow-up work; 4, however, had received care for 9 months or over, 1 of them for a year of more; of the cases still pending, 18 had received care for 9 months or over. The child-caring agencies had closed 50 per cent of their cases, a large majority of these having been under care for less than 6 months; among the cases still pending, however, a large majority had already been under care for 6 months or over. The court had the largest percentage of cases still pending at the close of the period—80 per cent of the 163 cases; 20 of these cases and 1 which had been closed had been carried for 18 months or over. However, a court case still pending means that the case has been kept open mainly for money payments, since the pressure of work is too great to allow actual case work to be done by the court.

Reasons for closing cases.

The reasons which decided the various agencies to discontinue care should throw further light on the quality of the treatment given. In this connection, however, it is necessary to recognize the types of placement that do not imply need for continued supervision. For the 319 cases closed within the year of this study, the reasons are summarized as follows:

	Per cent distribution.
Total cases closed, 319-----	100
Child died-----	27
Mother assumed care:	
Being self-supporting-----	5
Relatives assisting-----	9
Having married-----	6
Under other conditions-----	(⁴)
Relatives assumed care-----	1
Child adopted-----	1
Case referred to other agency-----	15
Child placed in institution-----	(⁴)
Other disposition made-----	3
Care no longer appropriate:	
Mother discharged from hospital-----	3
Other reason-----	6
Case closed by court:	
With adequate provision-----	1
No provision made-----	7
Other reason-----	12
Reason not reported-----	3

The two outstanding reasons were the death of the child and the assumption of care by the mother. Adoption and the assumption of care by relatives together accounted for only 2 per cent. Many of the reasons for closing the cases seem totally inadequate. Supervision should not stop because the mother has left the hospital, or, in most cases, because relatives are assisting her. Even the fact that the mother has become self-supporting is not a valid reason for closing a case, since many adjustments may still remain to be made in which the mother will need assistance.

Number of placements.

The record as to placement was fairly complete. Of 378 children for whom certain placements were known to have been made, 264 (70 per cent) were known during the entire time from birth to the close of the period of the study. For 102 (nearly two-fifths) of these the first was apparently successful, since no change had been made even though a considerable number of the children were 9 months of age and over at the close of care. For 96 others (more than one-

⁴ Less than 1 per cent.

third) there had been two placements. The remainder had not fared so well; 39 children had been in three different homes, 13 children in four, 13 others in five, and 1 child in seven. For 2 children the number of placements was not reported. These figures indicate inadequate investigation and care in first placement.

Type of placement at close of care.

In view of the great divergence of opinion as to whether the child born out of wedlock should or should not be kept with the mother, it is significant that immediately previous to the close of care or the end of the period a very large proportion of the 313 children whose whereabouts at the close of care were known were with their mothers. In the final placements nearly four-fifths were with and one-fifth were away from their mothers. The placements at the close of care were as follows:

Total children.....	313
With mother.....	248
In a family home.....	138
Mother's parental.....	57
Mother's own.....	30
Relative's.....	30
Boarding.....	16
Friend's or other.....	5
In mother's place of employment.....	60
In an institution.....	40
Maternity home.....	30
Hospital.....	7
Children's institution.....	2
Correctional institution.....	1
Not reported.....	10
Away from mother.....	65
In a family home.....	51
Boarding.....	36
Relative's.....	6
Adoptive.....	5
Mother's parental.....	2
Father's parental or own home.....	2
In an institution.....	10
Children's institution.....	8
Hospital or maternity home.....	2
Not reported.....	4

It must be noted that the basic numbers in the foregoing list exclude an almost equally large number of children who were under the care of agencies from which sufficient information was not secured. These included one institution where mothers and babies were usually separated very early. If information had been available in regard to these cases, the percentages separated would have been materially increased.

EXTENT OF MOTHER'S CARE OF CHILD.

Maternal nursing.

The information in regard to breast feeding is meager and is probably more encouraging than complete statistics would be. Of 250 mothers who were in a maternity home or hospital after the birth of the child, only 16, or 6 per cent, never breast fed their children; in 8 of these cases the mothers were reported to be unable to nurse them, and in only 3 were they reported as unwilling. But when the important item of time during which breast feeding was continued is examined, the following facts are discovered in regard to the 234 infants who were reported as breast fed.

Total infants reported as breast fed.....				234
Less than 2 weeks.....	5	5 months.....		4
2 weeks, less than 1 month.....	16	6 months.....		7
1 month.....	11	7 months.....		7
2 months.....	13	8 months and over.....		22
3 months.....	5	Time not reported.....		140
4 months.....	4			

Thus, of the 94 babies for whom the length of the breast-feeding period was reported, nearly one-half were breast fed for less than three months, and only about two-fifths for six months or over. These proportions, moreover, can not be considered as representative, since in these cases the mothers had had the most favorable care. It is improbable that the mothers who remained in private homes after the birth of their children were able to do so well.

Length of time with mother.

Another question of importance is what proportion of the child's life was spent with the mother. For 201 children the proportionate time spent with the mother was known; of these, 77 per cent had remained with their mothers since birth, 5 per cent at least four-fifths of the time, and only 8 per cent less than one-fifth of the time.⁵

Of 314 children for whom information as to separation from the mother was obtained, three-fourths were definitely known never to have been separated, and one-fourth to have been so. The age at which the child was first separated from the mother throws light upon the extent of breast feeding possible. For 69 of the 77 children known to have been separated the age at separation was reported; 18 of them were separated before reaching the age of 1 month, 11 during the second month of life, and a total of 49 before reaching the age of 6 months.

⁵ It will be remembered that at the close of the period all the children of the study were from 6 months to 2 years of age, or would have been of this age had they lived. The statement on proportion of time with mother is based on cases in which the child survived at least six months.

Reason for separation and agency responsible.

The reasons for separation were given in only 39 of the 77 cases, and included the physical and mental unfitness of the mother in 5 cases each, and her moral unfitness in 3. Other reasons appearing in from 2 to 4 cases each were the grandparents' inability or unwillingness to care for the child, the mother's desertion of the child, and the conditions of the mother's employment. The youth of the mother was given in only 1 case as the principal and in only 2 cases as a subsidiary reason; it would seem to have been a valid reason in many more cases, since, of the 629 mothers included in this study, 6 were under 15 years of age, 24 were 15, and 45 were 16 at the time of the birth of the child.

A study of the agencies responsible for the separation of mother and child should indicate whether certain types of agencies have a definite policy on this point, but the figures obtained are disappointing. As was to be expected, a large proportion of the separation cases were under child-caring agencies at the time when separation took place—34, or over half the 63 cases in which agency supervision was reported. Thirteen cases were under the care of a supervising agency, while 8 were under a hospital social-service department. Only 3 cases of separation were reported as under the sole supervision of the court, but in 180 court cases no information as to separation was on record. Five cases were distributed between a maternity home, a hospital and a supervising agency, and the court and a child-caring agency. Eight cases were without agency supervision, and for 6 others it was not reported whether they had agency supervision or not.

Placements while with mother and time in each.

The arrangements made for the 330 children who were at some period with their mothers in placements intended to extend over considerable periods of time demand careful consideration.

It may well be asked whether it was decided to keep these mothers and children together because that was the easiest solution, because that was the traditional method in a given agency, or because it was actually the best arrangement for both mother and child under all the circumstances of the given case. The advantage of keeping young children with their mothers, especially during the nursing period, can hardly be overestimated; and the facts show an encouraging number of cases in which this was done with apparent success. In all cases, however, the principle of individualization should be followed, and no traditional rule should determine procedure. Permanence is another important consideration which should govern plans for the care of the child. The harmonizing of these principles, without the sacrifice of other imperative needs of both mother

and child, taxes the best efforts of workers in this field. The following list shows what the various arrangements were:

Total children	330
In one placement	171
Maternity home or hospital	50
Parental home	45
Mother's own home	24
Relative's home	20
Mother's place of employment	13
Boarding home	10
Other	9
In two placements	109
Place of employment and maternity home or hospital	30
Parental home and maternity home or hospital	19
Relative's home and mother's place of employment	8
Parental home and mother's place of employment	5
Boarding home and mother's place of employment	5
Boarding home and maternity home or hospital	5
Mother's place of employment and other	10
Other combinations	27
In three or more placements	39
Relative's home, mother's place of employment, and maternity home or hospital	6
Boarding home, mother's place of employment, and maternity home or hospital	5
Other combinations	28
Not reported	11

In other words, of the 330 children known to have been with their mothers for some period, about one-half had had only one placement, one-third had had two placements, and one-eighth had had three.

The various types of placement were utilized in the following numbers of instances:

Maternity home or hospital	140
Place of employment	106
Mother's parental home	89
Relative's home	48
Mother's own home	40
Boarding home	38
Friend's home	16
Children's institution	3
Father's parental home	1
Other	51

Children with the mother in her own home.

The child was kept with the mother in her own home in those cases where the mother and father married or were living as married, or where the mother was a married woman and returned to her own family—a total of 40 cases. Of these 40 children, 10 were born in the mother's own home and remained in it during the entire period, and 27 were in it at the close of care; 14 had been with the mother

in her own home for from 6 months to 12 months and over. Even among the 13 children who were in another type of home at the close of care, 3 had remained with the mother in her own home for 12 months and over, and 4 others for 6 months or over. Obviously, this plan is one of the most successful, so far as permanence is a test. Moreover, it is the general experience of case workers that there is no home for a child like the home of his own mother, provided the conditions there are right.

Especially is the home of the mother a favorable place for the child when, as in a large number of these cases, the mothers remain at home to care for their children. Of these 40 mothers, 28 were not employed at any gainful occupation, 2 were employed at home, and only 8 were known to have gone out to work, while for 2 the facts as to occupation were not reported. A day nursery cared for 6 of the 8 children whose mothers went out to work, an older child cared for 1, and "people in the house" for 1.

In 17 of the 34 cases in which source of support was reported the father alone was supplying support, in 4 the mother, and in 5 the mother and father together; an agency shared the responsibility with the parents in 4 cases; 1 child was supported by the stepfather, and 1 by the mother's parents, while 2 children were supported by other means.

There are other tests of the desirability of a home, beside those of its permanence and the presence of the mother. Moral laxness has an insidious influence which may not develop until the later life of the child, so that the moral fitness of both parents is of great importance. Of the 13 cases in which the children did not remain, the plan was changed in 2 because the mother secured employment (one father having deserted), in 2 because she was unfit, and in 1 because she deserted; the other reasons given—the nonpayment of rent, the mother's wish to board the child, the father's desertion, the father's delinquency resulting in a prison sentence—indicate for the most part the unfitness of one or the other parent.

Children with the mother in her parental home.

A child who can not be placed with the mother and father is usually considered fortunate if placed with the mother in the home of her parents. Yet this plan was tried for only a small proportion of the children included in the present study. Of the 335 children concerning whom definite information was given on this point, 235 were known never to have been in the home of the mother's parents. In 75 of the 100 cases in which the child was known to have been there for some period, the mother was known to have been there throughout that period, and in 13 others she was there a part of the time.

The details as to the ability and fitness of the maternal grandparents to assume the care of the mother and child were reported as follows:

	Per cent distribution.
Total children, 278.....	100
Grandparents:	
Both able ⁶	21
One able.....	14
Other dead.....	9
Other unfit.....	3
Other unable.....	(⁷)
Other not reported.....	2
Both unable.....	6
One unable.....	6
Other dead.....	4
Other unfit.....	2
Both unfit.....	5
One unfit.....	10
Other dead.....	6
Other not reported.....	4
Both dead.....	15
One dead (not including 10 per cent specified above).....	16
Other not in the United States.....	1
Other not reported.....	15
Neither in the United States.....	7
One not in the United States, other not reported.....	(⁷)

From the foregoing list it will be seen that one or both of the maternal grandparents were able to give care in 35 per cent of the cases reported on, but only three-sevenths of those who were reported able were actually giving care. Altogether, care was given by maternal grandparents in 100 cases; in 42 of these the grandparents were reported to be able, in 29 they were reported as unable or unfit, and as to the remaining 29 no report was made.

Although in a total of 95 cases the maternal grandparents had expressed themselves as willing to care for the children, in only 42 of these were they reported as able to give care; in 2 of these cases, for some unexplained reason, the children had not been placed in their care. Seven children were being cared for by grandparents, in spite of the fact that the grandparents had said they were unwilling to assume that responsibility.

When the mother with her child was able to utilize her parental home, she apparently did so early in the life of the child. In 23 of the 78 cases in which the age of the child was reported, the mother was in her parental home before the birth, and remained there after-

⁶ "Able" here signifies "physically, mentally, and financially in a condition to care for the child."

⁷ Less than 1 per cent.

wards; 25 children were in the home before they were a month old, and a total of 64—nearly seven-eighths—before they were three months old; only 1 was known to be so placed after reaching the age of 12 months.

The mothers of a majority (46) of the 89 children with the mother in her parental home did not enter any gainful occupation; the mothers of 29 went out to work, the grandmother caring for the child in 22 cases, an aunt in 3, and a day nursery in 1, while the caretakers in 3 cases were not reported. In 14 cases it was not reported whether or not the mother had entered a gainful occupation.

The source of support for 23 of this group of children was the mother alone; for 23 others, the mother's parents (including foster parents in 1 case); for 3, the father alone; and for 3, other relatives. Relatives also assisted the mothers and the fathers in 4 cases each and the mother's parents in 3, the source of support being unreported in 26 cases.

A significant point is the shortness of the periods during which these children remained in homes of this type. Of the 75 children for whom the time during which they remained was reported, 16 (over one-fifth) remained less than a month, 10 (over one-eighth) for only a month, a total of 48 (over five-eighths) for less than six months, and only 7 (one-tenth) for a year or over.

The reasons given for the removal of 33 children from their mothers' parental homes include among others the marriage of 3 mothers, the leaving for employment of 4, the desertion of 1 and the unwillingness of another, the sickness of the children in 5 cases, and the unwillingness or inability of the grandparents to continue care in another 5. Two children and one mother had died.

Children with the mother in her place of employment.

The plan of placing the child with the mother in her place of employment was utilized in 106 cases, as contrasted with the 89 cases in which they were placed in the parental home. Thirty-four children were under 2 months of age when so placed, 27 were 2 months old, 33 others were from 3 to 5 months, and 11 were over 6 months, while for 1 child the age was not reported.

The failure of this plan is testified to by the fact that it continued until the close of care for only 51 (less than half), as contrasted with the more than two-thirds of those placed with the mother in her parental home for whom that placement was permanent. No data are available to throw light on the physical condition of these mothers at the time of beginning employment or to indicate how far this failure was due to the health problems of the mother.

The living arrangements for 55 of the 106 children had been changed, the sickness of the child or the mother accounting for 12

cases, the marriage of the mother for 3, and her mental or moral unfitness for 3; various other reasons were given in 15 cases, the employer being unwilling to continue the arrangement in 1; in 22 cases the reason was not reported.

How generally housework is regarded as a possible solution is seen in the fact that 101 of these 106 mothers were in domestic service. Two were employed in an institution and 1 was employed in work of another type, the occupation being unreported in 2 cases. In the case of the mothers of 248 children over 6 months of age whose history as to previous employment in housework was reported, 116 had and 132 had not been so employed previous to the birth of the child. Of the 85 mothers of the first of these groups and the 101 mothers in the second whose history as to such employment subsequent to the birth was known, 62 (seven-tenths) and 41 (four-tenths), respectively, had been so employed after the birth.

The placement of the illegitimate mother with her child in employment is a task of great difficulty, requiring rare insight and understanding as well as specialized skill. The failure in so many cases indicates that the minimum standards set by the Philadelphia Conference on Parenthood and the department of mothers with children of the Philadelphia Children's Bureau,⁸ were not followed in a large number of these cases. This failure of the plan was doubtless due, in part, to imperfect technique in placement; in part, to the fact that many mothers were not sufficiently adapted to or trained for housework; and, in part, to the scarcity of employers with a sense of social responsibility who can and will take the time to make this plan successful. This resource should undoubtedly be utilized in a smaller proportion of cases than in the past.

Children with the mother in a relative's home.

Of the 48 children with the mothers in the homes of relatives, 13 were born there; 15 came into these homes before they were a month old and the remainder at various ages, including only 2 at 1 year of age or over; for 4 the age at placement was unreported. For 20 children this placement continued to the close of care, 5 having been in a relative's home for between 9 and 11 months, and a total of 10 for 6 months or over. Of the 28 children whose placement was changed, 4 had remained for less than a month, 14 for between one and three months, and only 4 for three months or over, while for 6 the time was not reported.

Of the 19 children whose mothers went out to work, 9 were cared for by an aunt and 4 by other relatives; a day nursery and neighbors were reported as caring for 1 each, and 1 mother took her baby with her; in 3 cases the arrangement for the child's care was not reported.

⁸ See pp. 36, 89.

Relatives supplied support, either in whole or in part, in a total of 22 cases, the mother assisting in 5 cases and the father in 1; support was given in 13 cases by the mother, in 1 by the father, and in 2 by the mother and father together; for 10, the source of support was not stated.

The most frequent reasons for change from this placement were that the mother left to secure employment, in 6 cases, and that the child was ill, in 5. In 1 case the mother was ill; in 1 each the mother married, the mother returned to her parental home, the child was adopted, and the mother's relatives were unwilling to continue the arrangement; in 8 cases the reason was not reported. Three children and 1 mother died.

The plan of placing the mother and baby in a relative's home does not seem to have worked out well. A more perfect case-work technique might have assisted in better results, but this placement has neither close family ties nor a mutually beneficial business arrangement in favor of its permanence.

Children with the mother in a friend's home.

A family can rarely offer a home to an unrelated family group except as a temporary makeshift without such readjustment as involves some injury to both groups. This general experience doubtless accounts for the fact that this plan was used in only 16 of the cases under study, and that only 6 children were remaining in this placement at the close of care. Five of the mothers were living in this type of home before the birth of the child, and 8 others before the children were 2 months old.

Eight of the mothers in this group were known to have had no gainful occupation, and 6 to have gone out to work. The mother alone had given support in 8 cases; the father in 2; and the mother and father together, the husband of the mother, and a friend in 1 case each; the source of support was unreported for 3 children.

Of the 10 children for whom this placement terminated before the end of the period, only 2 had remained so long as from six to eight months. The reasons for a change of plan were in 2 cases because the mother had secured employment, and in 1 case each because the child was sick, the mother was sick, the home was unfit, and the mother returned to the parental home.

Children with the mother in a boarding or free home.

Thirty-eight children were placed with their mothers in boarding or free homes, of whom 16 were under 2 months of age at the time of placement—4 having been born in these homes and 1 being so placed when under 2 weeks old. Eleven were placed at the ages of 2 months to 5 months, inclusive, and 9, at 6 months of age or over;

and the ages of 2 were not reported. Fourteen of these children remained in these homes for less than a month; none were known to have remained so long as a year, and only 1 for as much as 9 months. Eleven of the mothers were known to have had no gainful occupation, 1 worked at home, 23 went out to work, and for 3 no report was made as to occupation. The mother provided support in 24 cases, the father in 3, the mother and father in 1; relatives or social agencies gave support in 4 cases, being assisted by the mother or the father in 2 cases; 1 child was in a free home, and in 5 cases the source of support was not stated.

Twenty-five of these children were placed in other types of homes before the close of care. In 5 cases the mother secured employment; in 2 cases the child was sick, and in 1 the mother. Among the reasons reported for the remaining cases were the following: The mother left the city; she deserted; she was unfit to care for the child; the child was placed for adoption; and the home was unwilling to continue the arrangement. One child died. It would naturally be expected that this plan would often be utilized temporarily pending the formation of a more desirable plan, such as the return of the mother to her own or her parental home; but the changes from this placement did not indicate this situation. It is probable that the homes were selected without sufficient knowledge of their adaptability to the needs of the mother and child. This type of placement offers the greatest opportunity for constructive work by the agency. The mother's own home, the parental home, and the home of a relative or a friend have to be accepted as they are and are capable of only limited improvement. The technique of finding the right boarding or free home is just beginning to be developed. A thorough and sympathetic knowledge of the individual and of the home is required. This fact again emphasizes the need of knowing the unmarried mother as early as possible in her pregnancy.

Children separated from their mothers.

In all, 77 children were at some period away from their mothers in more or less permanent placements. With the exception of 9 placed in children's institutions and 1 in a maternity home, family homes were utilized for the 74 children for whom the type of placement was reported. The boarding or free home was used in 46 cases,⁹ a relative's home in 6, the mother's and the father's parental home in 3 cases each, and an adoptive home in 6 cases. Where the child must be separated from the mother, careful placement in homes is entirely in harmony with the best principles of child care.

⁹ For a part of the time away from the mother, 2 of these children were in a children's institution, 1 in a maternity home, 1 in a relative's, and 1 in a friend's home.

Of the 46 children placed in boarding or free homes, 1 was known to have been so placed before the age of 2 weeks, 14 others before they were 1 month old, and a total of 29 before the age of 6 months. Of the 11 sent to children's institutions, 1 was under a month old, and 4 others under 6 months at the time of placement. One of the 3 placed in the mother's parental home was under 6 months of age when so placed. These facts show that the practice was not in accordance with the generally accepted standard requiring that a mother and child be kept together, whenever possible, for at least the first six months of the nursing period.

The mother supported 30 of the 46 children in boarding or free homes, the father 3, the mother and father together 4, the mother's parents 2, and a public agency 1, the source of support being unreported in 6 cases

Only 3 of these 46 children were known to have been in more than one boarding or free home. Sixteen, however, were not in this type of home at the close of care. One child died. The change was made for 3 because of sickness and for 2 because the mother married or otherwise became able to care for the child; the reasons for the other changes were not reported.

Support for children in children's institutions was given in 2 of the 11 cases by the mother and in 4 by the institutions; in 5 cases the source was not reported. Six of these children were placed elsewhere before the close of care, in 2 cases because of the child's illness and in 1 case because the mother had assumed care.

The 6 children away from their mothers in adoptive homes were placed there at ages varying from 1 month to 5 months. As would be expected, in all but 1 case they were supported by their foster parents, and in every case they had remained in the home in which they were first placed. The permanence and security of this plan make it very alluring; but the effect of unwise adoption, on both mother and child, suggests that it should be used only after very careful investigation. The ages of these children at adoption suggest that this may not have been the rule. Adoption should not be permitted to interfere with breast feeding, where that is possible. On the other hand, if the child is to be adopted, the earlier the plan is matured after the nursing period the better and the more quickly can the adjustment be made between child and foster parents.

Other placements of the children.

One child was with the mother in the father's parental home, but remained only 2 weeks. Another child was away from the mother in the father's parental home, having been placed there when 7 months of age, and being supported by the father. The child remained in this home, so far as was known. Still another child was

with the father in the father's home, having been placed there when 20 months of age.

FATHER'S CONTRIBUTION TO SUPPORT OF CHILD.

Public opinion may be far from ready to recognize to any great degree a father's social responsibility to his child born out of wedlock, but it is gradually, perhaps rapidly, coming to recognize his economic responsibility. A discussion follows as to the proportion of these cases in which support was secured from the father, and the proportion in which it was secured through court action.

For 572 cases reports were made as to the fathers' contributions to support and as to whether or not court action was taken. In more than half these cases (316) the fathers were definitely known to have made no contributions, and of the 250 cases in which support was known to have been secured the contributions were voluntary in only 55. (See Table XII.)

TABLE XII.—*Contribution of father, whether voluntary or by action of court, by type of support; fathers in selected group: Philadelphia.*

Type of support.	Fathers in selected group.					
	Total.	In whose cases no court action was taken.	In whose cases court action was taken.			Not reported as to court action.
			Provision ordered for child.	No provision ordered for child.	Not reported as to provision.	
Total.....	1 572	270	183	101	15	3
No support.....	2 316	214	11	2 79	11	1
Pregnancy or confinement expenses only.....	3 21	3	14	3	1	.....
Cash settlement.....	4 20	5	4 13	2	.....	.....
Continuing contributions.....	5 67 79	57	6 65	7 7	.....	.....
Occasional contributions.....	6	5	.....	1	.....	.....
Father married mother.....	1 19	8	5 10	.....	1	.....
Parents living as married or illegally married.....	3 23	12	3	6	1	1
Continuing contributions and later marriage.....	4	2	2	.....	.....	.....
Continuing contributions and living as married, or illegally married.....	3	2	1	.....	.....	.....
Pregnancy expenses and other.....	5	2	2	.....	.....	1
Continuing contributions and pregnancy expenses.....	10 64	5	10 58	1	.....	.....
Contributions, type not reported.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other contributions.....	5	3	1	1	.....	.....
Not reported.....	6	1	3	1	1	.....

¹ Excluding 57 cases reported neither as to contribution nor as to court action.

² Including 45 cases pending Sept. 3, 1917; also 14 of alleged fathers who were discharged as not guilty, and 7 of others discharged because of insufficiency of evidence or for other reasons.

³ Including 1 case in which the parents later married.

⁴ Including 1 case in which pregnancy expenses were also paid.

⁵ Including 1 case in which other contributions were made.

⁶ Including 1 case in which other contributions were made, and 2 cases in which fathers made occasional contributions before court order.

⁷ Including 1 case in which parents married after close of period.

⁸ Including 1 case in which father made a lump-sum payment of \$36.

⁹ Including 1 case in which occasional contributions were made.

¹⁰ Including 1 case in which parents were later married, and 3 cases in which other expenses were paid.

Court action was taken in the cases of 299 fathers, or 53 per cent of the 569 reported in this matter. Some provision was ordered for the child in 183 cases, or over three-fifths of those brought into court; no contributions from the father had been reported in 11 of these. Forty-five cases (15 per cent) were still pending at the close of care. In 56 cases, or nearly one-fifth, action was closed without provision for the following reasons: In 20 cases the whereabouts of the father was unknown, in 4 the child died, in 4 there was a warrant only, in 2 the father was discharged because of the statute of limitations or because he was not in the court's jurisdiction; 5 cases were nolle-prossed, and 14 alleged fathers were discharged as not guilty, while 7 others were dismissed because of insufficiency of evidence or for other reasons. In 15 cases no report as to provision was made.

Concerning 214 alleged fathers it was known that they never contributed to the support of the child, and that no court action was taken against them. No information was available as to how far this was due to inertia, to lack of complete evidence, or to the belief of the agency that it was better not to prosecute.

In the cases where support was secured, it was too often of a meager type—especially when of a voluntary character, but frequently, also, when secured through court action. Twenty-one fathers met pregnancy or confinement expenses only, 3 paying less than \$3 and 8 paying between \$10 and \$50. Occasional contributions, known not to exceed \$50 in any case, were made by 6 fathers. Twenty-one fathers made lump-sum payments, the highest being for \$1,000, the next highest for \$600, three others for \$500, and one for \$400, the lowest payment being for only \$36. Continuing expenses were borne by 150 fathers, but how many of these failed to pay regularly had not been recorded. It is a familiar fact that such failure is frequent. In 19 other cases the father and mother were married, and in 23 they were living as married or were illegally married, the father presumably making substantial contributions to the support of the child. If the expense of supporting a child is estimated at the low figure of \$5 a week, it costs \$4,160 to bring up a child to the age of 16 years. The mothers are not equipped to meet this responsibility;¹⁰ when the fathers fail, as now they so generally do, the burden of the present dependency and of the future dependency and delinquency resulting from the physical, mental, and moral handicaps under which the children suffer, must inevitably fall upon the community.

¹⁰ For occupations and earnings of mothers, see pp. 51 ff.

CONCLUSIONS.

The beginning here made in the study of the methods of dealing with illegitimacy in Philadelphia, based on information furnished by social agencies in regard to cases of children under 2 years of age, is limited by the comparatively brief period covered by the study and by the fact that much of the information available was so far from adequate. There is clearly need for more complete knowledge in regard to the conditions accompanying birth out of wedlock. Nevertheless the foregoing analysis of the needs of the mothers and children and the way in which the agencies met these needs suggests the strength or weakness inherent in the various plans utilized and indicates the need for more effective organization and cooperation and for standardization of method in this field.

The earlier in her pregnancy the mother becomes known to a social agency the better is the opportunity to see that she has adequate prenatal care, to make a complete investigation, to establish friendly relations before the birth crisis, and to make a plan in harmony with the needs of both mother and child. As a result of early contact the children can reasonably be assured a more constant environment and more normal opportunities. Of the children included in this study for whom place of birth was reported, 96 per cent were born in Philadelphia; but less than half the mothers turned to the agencies for assistance before the birth of the child.

An analysis of the care given the child born out of wedlock by the different agencies reveals the fact that the hospital social-service departments and the maternity homes hold the most strategic positions, since a large number of mothers come to them first for assistance. The court also has an unusually significant opportunity. The children's agencies are less apt to be appealed to before the birth of the child, and their constructive opportunity is therefore limited.

It is further clear that the majority of the illegitimate mothers and their children were not receiving the type of case work needed—i. e., at least a year of careful and intensive supervision. All types of agencies seemed to close their cases after only a comparatively short period of treatment. Judged by careful case-work standards, the reasons given for discontinuing care often seem totally inadequate.

Although a child suffers from frequent changes of environment, 26 per cent of the 378 children reported on had been in more than two different dispositions, one child having had seven different homes in the short period covered by the study.

Since the percentages of children reported as breast fed for various periods of time are based upon those cared for in the hospitals and maternity homes only, no deduction can be made as to the extent of breast feeding among all the children.

Practices as to keeping mother and child together, and opinions as to the desirability of doing so, vary greatly. The general tendency in Philadelphia, however, is clear from the fact that of 201 babies 6 months of age or over at the close of care, 153 (76 per cent) spent the entire time with their mothers. The largest number of those separated were taken away before they were 1 month old, although it is well known that breast feeding should be continued for at least six months, whenever possible. The reasons assigned for such separations were often inadequate; on the other hand, adequate reasons for separation apparently existed in many cases in which such a program was not carried out.

Even where the mother and child were kept together, plans made for them often worked out very unsatisfactorily. The most successful results seemed to be secured when the mother remained in her own home with the child. The plan for the care of the child with the mother in her parental home can be recommended only when the grandparents are proper guardians. The plan of caring for the child with the mother at her place of employment should be used only after the most careful analysis of the situation. Relatives' or friends' homes seem to be seldom available. On the other hand, the disposition of the child with the mother in a boarding home, though difficult to carry out successfully, is a type of procedure which seems to offer promising possibilities.

For those children whom it seemed necessary to separate from their mothers, placement in the mother's parental home was apparently successful when the grandparents were able, fit, and willing to undertake the responsibility, a condition found in only a small proportion of the cases. Only a small number of children were placed in institutions, in harmony with the rule that an institution should not be used unless specialized care or training is needed. Adoptive homes were utilized in a small number of cases. Their final success can be measured only after years of trial, for their use involves many hidden dangers, and children should be placed in them only after most careful investigation. The boarding or free home has been shown by experience to be one of the most satisfactory solutions and its use offers possibilities which should be developed further; while in those cases where it is found desirable to separate mother and child, the father's parental home offers another possible solution which may be increasingly used.

More than half (316) the 572 fathers reported as to contribution gave nothing toward the child's support, and 55 made voluntary contributions. In only 299 cases was court action known to have been initiated, and provision for the child was ordered in only 183;

however, 45 cases were still pending at the end of the period of the study. In many cases the support given was pitifully meager in amount. The fathers of the children born out of wedlock in Philadelphia in 1916 were meeting only a small part of their obligations.

In conclusion it may be said that, judged by the standards they themselves have formulated, Philadelphia agencies were giving children born out of wedlock a poor quality of care. In very few agencies was careful, intensive case work over long periods of time being carried on as generally as it should be. Intensive work would lead to a far greater degree of individualization than is possible in a superficial type of work. Moreover, a study and comparison of types of treatment should be made from time to time by means of the statistical analysis of a large number of significant case records. The rôle of the father in the care of the child, in particular, needs careful study.

CHAPTER VI. SOME NEXT STEPS IN THE WORK FOR UNMARRIED MOTHERS.

This study not only brought together a considerable body of information as a basis for analysis but also aroused a general sense of the necessity for the formation of new and better standards of case work. By the year 1920-21 a certain amount of communal thinking had developed through regular monthly case conferences and through the analysis of the problems involved by a study group which met regularly throughout one winter. Finally, in an effort to formulate conclusions based on its five years' work, and to the end that the problem might be carefully thought out from all angles, the Philadelphia Conference on Parenthood suggested the formation of a committee representing the Philadelphia Intake Committee, the Philadelphia Conference on Parenthood, the executive committee of the department of mothers with children of the Philadelphia Children's Bureau, and a number of other leading social agencies which were serving the illegitimate family. Of this committee the executive of the children's bureau was made chairman.

The program evolved by this committee, entitled "Some next steps in the handling of work for unmarried mothers," includes revisions suggested by the conference on parenthood and the intake committee.

The committee recommended the appointment of a subcommittee to draw up a set of standards on case work with the illegitimate family. In order to learn the present practice in case work a questionnaire was sent to the 25 agencies most closely in touch with the problem of illegitimacy. With the generous aid of the subcommittee in revision certain standards were tentatively formulated and then submitted to the Philadelphia Conference on Parenthood, the Philadelphia Intake Committee, the Boston Conference on Illegitimacy, and the Inter-City Conference on Illegitimacy, both at its spring meeting and at its meeting in connection with the National Conference of Social Work. The "General Standards of Case Work with the Illegitimate Family" presented in this chapter was the result.

Real differences of opinion were found to exist as to the proper rôle of the hospital social-service departments in dealing with the problem. The president of the Hospital Social Service Association, who was also a member of the conference on parenthood, was asked

to organize a committee representing both organizations, to reach conclusions in this field.

The conclusions regarding maternity homes were based upon a conference of representatives from these institutions and upon several individual conferences of the writer with workers in this field.

The value of these standards and conclusions must, of course, be tested by their application in careful case-work practice. Their texts, as reported by the Philadelphia Conference on Parenthood, follow.

REPORTS ON STANDARDS BY COMMITTEES OF THE PHILADELPHIA CONFERENCE ON PARENTHOOD.¹

GENERAL STANDARDS OF CASE WORK WITH THE ILLEGITIMATE FAMILY.

I. Illegitimacy as a family problem.

Biologically the unmarried mother and father and their child constitute a family group and as such present a family problem. Social case work with unmarried parents and their children involves an openminded and sympathetic approach to the parents, not as delinquents needing punishment but as socially maladjusted individuals. This does not imply that discipline may not sometimes be needed as part of the social treatment of a particular case problem, but emphasis should be on future self-development and particularly on responsibility for parenthood.

II. Social information.

(a) Social and personal information in regard to the father, mother, and child should be secured from all available sources. In obtaining information, the confidence of the mother should not be violated.

(b) When a psychological examination of the mother seems necessary, it should be made at a time when she is in as normal physical and mental condition as possible and not suffering from unusual emotional or physical strain.

III. Records.

A full record of the social case history should be kept. It is desirable to have at least a face sheet giving information in regard to the woman and her family, and the man and his family, followed by chronological entries showing additional facts gleaned by the investigation and the results of the follow-up work. The use of the Confidential Exchange (or the Social Service Exchange) should be a routine procedure with each agency.

IV. Supervision.

It is generally agreed that the same worker should carry the individual case through to its completion. The number of mothers that a given worker can handle adequately varies somewhat according to

¹ These reports were presented and considered in the winter and spring of 1921, and were tentatively adopted in June of that year.

the type of agency, but the best practice among agencies doing intensive case work is for one worker to supervise not more than 30 to 40 mothers.

V. Physical care.

(a) There should be a complete physical examination, at least 3 months prior to confinement. The ideal plan would be for the mother to come under the physician's care just as soon as pregnancy is known. Prenatal care should continue throughout the remainder of pregnancy.

(b) Postnatal care should include from 4 to 6 weeks of rest, and a longer period of convalescence whenever complications occur.

(c) The mother should be urged to nurse her child, and, where necessary, some plan should be provided for the mother's support during this period.

(d) There should be reexamination of mother and child in each instance where they are to be placed in a family.

(e) When venereal or other transmissible diseases are evidenced or suspected, it is highly desirable that the fathers should be examined.

VI. Social treatment.

1. *General plans for the mother and child*—(a) It is best to keep the mother and child together unless the field of work for which the mother is equipped does not permit of the child being with her, or if the mother is by reason of age or mental condition unable to care properly for the child, or if any other circumstances render her an improper guardian.

(b) Employment should be found for the mother at the type of work for which she shows aptitude and has had training. If she lacks training and shows ability, an effort should be made to give her opportunity for education.

(c) The foregoing rule applies especially in regard to domestic service; i. e., the mother should be placed at domestic service only when her ability and training seem to indicate success in this work, and in addition an employer should be found who will cooperate in plans for the mother's welfare and who will guarantee her adequate time for the proper care of her child.

(d) Arrangements should be made for adequate and supervised recreation for the mother. This should include contacts with an organized group which will take a large measure of interest in the social life and activity of the mother.

2. *Court action*.—(a) The agencies are unanimous in agreeing that paternity should be established and support secured within statutory limits whenever the mother can be persuaded to take court action and whenever paternity is not too doubtful. When the latter is the case, the agencies should not urge the woman to take her case to court.

(b) Settlements outside of court should be based upon written acknowledgment of paternity and an adequate financial payment.

3. *Supervision*.—Supervision includes both a first-hand knowledge of the mother's behavior and environment and some control over both. The period of supervision may vary with the type of agency,

some supervising for years, others (such as the hospital social-service departments) for a few months only. For the most successful treatment at least a year of supervision seems to be necessary. It is agreed that supervision by home visits is most successful.

4. *Marriage*.—Marriage should be encouraged only when it is for the best interests of the mother, child, and father.

5. *Referring² cases*.—Whenever possible, the record of a case referred for a special service should be read by the receiving agency, and a consultation of the workers should take place.

6. *Transfer*.—(a) Where responsibility for the supervision of a case is to be transferred, this should be done promptly so that the first important contacts may be made by the worker who is to have the long-time supervision of the case.

(b) The record of a transferred case should be read by the receiving agency, and there should be a consultation of the workers and a joint visit.

7. *Adoptions*.—The whole question of adoptions in relation to the children of unmarried parents should receive most careful study. No matter how great the social pressure, no child should be adopted unless the social, medical, and mental findings indicate that this action will best serve the interests of the child, the parents, and the foster parents.

REPORT OF SUBCOMMITTEE ON MATERNITY HOMES.

1. Maternity homes have unusual opportunities to do important social work in the field of illegitimacy. The spirit underlying their work should not be that of the reformatory or penal institutions. Maternity homes should aim as nearly as possible to approximate the normal life of the outside community. Self-government amongst the mothers and expectant mothers should be tried whenever possible. The principles of good social case work should be applied to every phase of the work. The executive head of each maternity home should have thorough social case work training. It would be doubly valuable if she could combine the experiences of the trained nurse with those of the trained social worker.

2. The acceptance of a mother for care and social treatment should involve in each instance a thorough investigation of all available sources of information concerning her life and abilities. The knowledge thus gained should be supplemented by an intimate understanding of the girl during the time she is in the home. Only in rare instances should the confidence of the mother be revealed to others.

3. A careful medical examination should be made of each mother, including an examination for the presence of venereal diseases. Psychological examinations should be matters of routine procedure, so far as this is possible.

4. The social treatment of the maternity homes should be uniform for all mothers. Ability or inability to make adequate financial payment for the services rendered should not lead to the granting or withholding of special privileges.

² For definitions of terms "refer" and "transfer" as here used, see Wallerstein, Helen C., *The Functional Relations of Fifteen Case Working Agencies and the Report of the Philadelphia Intake Committee*, Bureau for Social Research, Seybert Institution, Philadelphia, 1919, p. vii.

5. Inquiries should be made concerning all applicants through the Social Service Exchange. Careful records with full medical and social information should be made for all mothers.

6. Every mother should receive training in the care of her child, this training to be given under the direction of a trained nurse.

7. Domestic science should be taught to those mothers who wish or can be persuaded to take such training. When a mother shows special ability, training in subjects other than domestic science should be provided, and upon leaving she should be helped to find that work for which she is best suited.

8. Careful follow-up work and friendly supervision should be carried on as long as the mother seems to need it.

9. The recreational needs of the mothers should be carefully considered and developed under the supervision of a trained worker.

10. Because of the primary importance of good health to the mothers and their babies, the medical work of each maternity home should be under the direction of a trained physician, who should work in consultation with a staff of expert consultants. Confinement care should preferably be given in regular hospitals.

REPORT OF HOSPITAL SOCIAL SERVICE COMMITTEE ON STANDARDS.

Physical treatment.

Twenty-three out of 30 hospitals in Philadelphia having a maternity service receive the unmarried pregnant woman. Approximately 700 cases were cared for during the year. Prenatal care is given in 15 hospitals, postnatal in 9, and convalescent care where necessary in 7. The hospitals not giving prenatal care have a small maternity service, and the number of unmarried cases is negligible. Two weeks' maternity care is the average time in a general hospital. In 15 hospitals venereal disease disqualifies the applicant; in 10 a second pregnancy is not admitted. Routine Wassermanns are taken in 14 hospitals. In 1 a routine mental examination is given to all unmarried pregnant women. This will also be the policy of the prenatal clinic at the Philadelphia General, the hospital with the largest intake. Rates of admission are not uniform, but in general a liberal policy prevails. As far as physical treatment goes, it appears that while the number of maternity beds available may not be adequate, the quality of the medical service would be accepted by the committee on standards.

Social treatment.

In 10 hospitals there is a social worker for the maternity service, in 4 no worker for this service, and in 9 no worker at all. It is significant that in the 3 maternity hospitals 2 have no social worker, while in the third it is not well established. Those in authority feel that any interest taken by agencies places a stigma on the patient. The committee received unanimous support in rejecting child-placing as a part of the function of a hospital social service. That coordinated work of this kind is a pressing need in Philadelphia is strongly felt.

It was generally conceded that a big factor in the social rehabilitation of this group is the contact made in the hospital. On the medical side, a critical situation is met on a common human ground. The

social worker has a natural approach through which to learn the background of heritage and environment, the mental capabilities—in short, the whole make-up of the girl's character. In other words, the social worker in the hospital should be able to make a social diagnosis and by her contact influence to a greater or less degree the prognosis.

A general hospital does not carry chronic, incurable cases. Through its social-service department, it makes the best disposition possible. In many cases some form of institutional care is necessary. In all such cases, responsibility for care must be fixed outside the hospital and as quickly as possible. This policy would be followed in the unmarried-mother group when by reason of physical or mental condition long guardianship would be required. For the group of cases referred by outside agencies, the policy of the social-service department should be to act in a steering capacity. For a large number of cases, however, it was agreed that the social-service department has a definite responsibility. These include cases:

(a) Where arrangements can be made for the mother and baby in the parental home or with relatives.

(b) Where marriage is for the best interest of all concerned.

(c) Where readjustment can be made through the employment of the mother, either taking the baby with her or leaving the baby with responsible relatives.

That work with unmarried mothers calls for the most intensive and difficult case-work adjustment was fully recognized by the committee. The departments, undermanned as they are, are not equipped to render such service. Failure to do so in some cases may be tragic. In all cases to lose the opportunity of meeting the need with genuine understanding in case-work methods is to be deplored.

Social-service departments are finding their way slowly and painfully from an old-established ideal of physical care to a greater sense of responsibility for the social care of their patients.

While the committee can not report that at present the need which it feels is the responsibility of the hospital is being met, it is encouraging to note that there is a realization of this responsibility and that in the face of difficulties it is being met in many cases.

REPORT OF A SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON METHODS OF HANDLING WORK FOR UNMARRIED MOTHERS.

1. The unmarried mother is essentially and primarily a problem for the general family-welfare agencies, and logically the major portion of the social case-work study, diagnosis, planning, and treatment should be done by these societies, such as the Society for Organizing Charity, the United Hebrew Charities, etc. Practically to-day, however, certain specialized agencies in the city, such as the Catholic Children's Bureau, the Personal Service Bureau, and the Children's Bureau of Philadelphia, are treating the unmarried mother as a family problem. They are therefore handling certain types of general need amongst unmarried mothers in the city which will ultimately be handled by the more general family agencies.

2. Each agency dealing with the unmarried mother as a general family problem should supplement its general case work through specialized agencies providing the following services: Shelter before confinement, hospital care, postnatal care, placement with the baby,

separate placement of mother and child, legal protection through the courts, and vocational advice and guidance. In the interest of unmarried mothers, it will be best, as our methods and resources are developed, that general case problems be not referred to these specialized agencies.

3. The use of the Joint Application Bureau, as a city-wide center providing for the more accurate referring of applications and cases between agencies, is urged for consideration. There is a large amount of loose and superficial passing of case-work problems between agencies, which it is needless to say operates against good case-work methods. This bureau can also prevent applications falling between societies and institutions, such as is happening at the present time. It can act as a central clearing house for unmarried mother case-work problems.

4. With the view to extending the general and special services represented by agencies in the conference to as large a number of mothers as is possible through the most economical and efficient use of resources and equipment, it is recommended that the fullest use be made by each agency of the Social Service Exchange.

5. The use of the special foster care needed for many unmarried mothers and their children beyond the mothers' immediate prenatal and postnatal care calls for the services of those who are experienced in foster-care work for children, and it is therefore recommended that these special services be very closely related to or be part of the work of a general child-caring agency, the latter plan being preferable.

6. It is recommended that the following bureaus, at present existing or to be organized, give the special services to their own groups, as outlined under paragraph 5:

- (a) Personal Service Bureau, for Jewish unmarried mothers.
- (b) A Mothers' and Children's Department in the Catholic Children's Bureau, for Roman Catholic unmarried mothers; this department to bring together all the social work done for unmarried mothers in this city by Roman Catholic agencies.
- (c) The Children's Bureau of Philadelphia for Protestant mothers.

7. It is recommended that the scope of the work done in the Women's Criminal Division of the Municipal Court, as considered and approved by this conference some two years ago, to meet conditions then existing and still existing, be again approved. But as other public departments and certain private agencies are able to enlarge and perfect their general case work for unmarried mothers, the conference would favor a modification of the work of the court to the extent that, broadly speaking, it would be confined to a socialized legal service to unmarried parents and their children. As the other nonlegal agencies develop their work, the court should be relieved of a considerable burden of general social case work for unmarried parents.

8. It is recommended that the needs of Philadelphia unmarried mothers become a first responsibility on this community, and that when applications are received from mothers whose homes are outside Philadelphia, they should be considered with a view to deter-

mining wherein this community is being taxed for services that could be equally well rendered by the communities from which the mothers originally came. In all instances where nonresident unmarried mothers are served by social agencies of Philadelphia the social case treatment should involve making all necessary contacts with the mother's own community. This general recommendation is not to be construed, however, as offering opposition to local social case-work treatment for out-of-town mothers.

9. It is recommended that the present licensed boarding house law be amended, making it necessary for every citizen who receives a child under 3 years of age not related to him for foster care to be licensed, and that all parties to the transaction—those who place and those who receive—must report this action to a properly constituted public official. The present law, which considers only those homes with three or more babies, ignores the large number of babies now receiving poor foster care in unlicensed homes. It is a question as to whether the law should be enforced by the department of health or the department of welfare, and whether the age of children affected should not be raised to 5 or 6 years.

10. It is recommended that the period of care in maternity homes be limited to approximately two to three months before and two months after confinement, the aftercare in the community to be done by the social workers connected with the homes or with the general or special agencies to which the mothers are referred.

CARE OF CHILDREN BORN OUT OF WEDLOCK IN MILWAUKEE.¹

CHAPTER I. ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS AND INFANT MORTALITY.

The material for this study of illegitimate births and the infant mortality of children born out of wedlock was supplied by the Juvenile Protective Association of Milwaukee. Practically all the data were secured from public records—namely, birth and death records in the register of deeds' office; adoption records of the county court; records of receipts and removals of children at boarding homes, maternity hospitals, and other institutions; and records of bastardy cases from the civil court, checked with the records of the district attorney's office and of the county poor department, through which money for the support of an illegitimate child is paid. Some supplementary information was obtained from the schedules furnished by social agencies, upon which the material presented in Chapter III is based.

PER CENT OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS.

The total number of registered illegitimate births in the city of Milwaukee in the calendar years 1916 and 1917 was 793.² Four hundred and twenty of these births occurred in 1916 and 373 in 1917—a decrease of 11 per cent in 1917. Thirty-one cases were found in which the births of illegitimate children live born during 1916 had not been registered; in 1917, 37 such cases were known. In 1916 one unregistered stillbirth was known to have been illegitimate. These unregistered births have not been included in this discussion because so little information was available in regard to them. Eight foundlings born in 1916 and 13 born in 1917 were excluded because of the lack of information concerning their parentage.

The total number of births in the city of Milwaukee in 1916 was 11,369,³ the 420 illegitimate births comprising 3.7 per cent of this total. In 1917 there were 11,555 births,³ the 373 illegitimate births

¹ Chapters II and IV were written by Louise Drury, executive secretary of the Juvenile Protective Association of Milwaukee. Chapters I and III were written by Mary E. Milburn from material gathered by Miss Drury and the Milwaukee Conference on Illegitimacy.

² The figures published by the commissioner of health are smaller and evidently do not include births to nonresident mothers.

³ Fortieth and Forty-first Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Health, City of Milwaukee, 1916, p. 94; 1917, p. 83.

comprising 3.2 per cent of all. For the two years combined the total number of births was 22,924, of which the illegitimate births, numbering 793, comprised 3.5 per cent.

STILLBIRTHS.

For the two-year period 1916-17, the comparative percentages of stillbirths were 4.7 for illegitimate and 3.1 for all births.

PLACE OF BIRTH.

Of the 793 illegitimate births in Milwaukee in 1916 and 1917, 44.3 per cent occurred in maternity homes or hospitals and 13.4 per cent in general hospitals—a total of 57.7 per cent; 14.2 per cent occurred in four private or commercial lying-in hospitals maintained by midwives. The remaining 28.1 per cent included the births in private homes (the mother's own, her parents', a relative's, or a friend's) and those for which the place of birth was not reported; a large majority of the unreported group in all probability occurred in such homes. Table I shows that there was no great difference in the distribution for the two years separately.

TABLE I.—*Number and per cent distribution of illegitimate births, by place of birth; illegitimate births in Milwaukee, 1916-17.*

Place of birth.	Illegitimate births in 1916 and 1917. ¹		Illegitimate births in 1916. ¹		Illegitimate births in 1917. ¹	
	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.	Number.	Per cent distribution.
Total.....	793	100.0	420	100.0	373	100.0
General hospital.....	106	13.4	57	13.6	49	13.1
Maternity home or hospital.....	351	44.3	173	41.2	178	47.7
Private or commercial lying-in hospital.....	113	14.2	62	14.8	51	13.7
Mother's own home, other private home, and place of birth not reported.....	223	28.1	128	30.5	95	25.5

¹ Including stillbirths.

INFANT MORTALITY.

Rate.

In Milwaukee in 1916 and 1917, 179 infants born out of wedlock died under 1 year of age. Since 756 illegitimate live births occurred in the city during this period, the infant mortality rate for these children for the two-year period was 236.8 per 1,000 live births, or 2.3 times the rate for children of legitimate birth.⁴

Age at death and cause of death.

The Milwaukee vital statistics give no details in regard to age at death of infants, except for the age group of less than 1 month.

⁴ Percentages based on data given in the Fortieth and Forty-first Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Health, City of Milwaukee, 1916 and 1917.

The number of deaths per 1,000 births for all infants under 1 month of age from all causes was 48.6 during the two-year period, 51.2 for 1916 and 46 for 1917; the corresponding rates for those of illegitimate birth were 82, 74.4, and 90.7. The specific infant mortality rate in the first month of life from the causes peculiar to early infancy was 33.6 for all births and 45 for illegitimate births.

Twenty-nine, or 16 per cent, of the 179 infant deaths were of children less than 1 week old, and 24 of these were due either to "early infancy" or to malformations—the causes which are most closely connected with the mother's condition and care during pregnancy and confinement. Twenty per cent of the deaths were of children less than 2 weeks old, and a total of over one-third were of children less than 1 month old, over half of whom died from prematurity, congenital debility, or injuries at birth. In contrast, only 5 per cent of the deaths were of children 9 months of age or over. The age at death and cause of death are brought out in Table II.

TABLE II.—*Age at death, by cause of death; infants of illegitimate birth who died under 1 year of age in Milwaukee in 1916-17.*

Cause of death.	Deaths under 1 year of age of infants of illegitimate birth.							
	Total.	Age at death.						
		Under 1 week.	Under 1 month.	1 month.	2 months.	3-5 months.	6-8 months.	9-11 months.
All causes.....	179	29	62	22	32	39	15	9
Principal gastric and intestinal diseases.....	42	.....	9	4	11	12	3	3
Principal respiratory diseases.....	22	1	2	3	4	5	5	3
Malformations.....	7	4	4	2	1	.....	.....	.....
Causes peculiar to early infancy.....	66	20	34	9	10	12	1	.....
Premature birth.....	17	8	13	3	1	.....	.....	.....
Congenital debility.....	47	10	19	6	9	12	1	.....
Injuries at birth.....	2	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Principal epidemic diseases.....	13	1	2	1	2	4	3	1
External causes.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
All other causes.....	28	3	10	3	4	6	3	2

The principal causes of death reported for these children are those which usually predominate in infant mortality; to causes peculiar to early infancy were attributed 36.9 per cent of the deaths; gastric and intestinal diseases caused 23.5 per cent; and respiratory diseases 12.3 per cent. One hundred and thirty, or nearly three-fourths, of the infant deaths were due to these three causes. The specific infant-mortality rates for each of these causes during the period covered by this analysis are here shown:

	All children.	Children of illegitimate birth.
Causes peculiar to early infancy.....	39.1	87.3
Gastric and intestinal diseases.....	22.1	55.6
Respiratory diseases.....	23.0	29.1

All 7 deaths due to malformations were of children less than 3 months of age. All but 2 (who died of syphilis) of the 13 children who succumbed to epidemic diseases were 1 month of age or over. Only 2 deaths were due to injuries at birth; 1 child lived only a few hours, and the other one day. One-half of the 64 children who died because of prematurity or congenital debility survived the first month of life, but only 1 of them lived to be 6 months of age.

The greatest relative difference between infant mortality rates in Milwaukee, by cause of death, for all children and for children of illegitimate birth is found in the group of deaths caused by gastric and intestinal diseases, the rate being two and one-half times as high for infants born out of wedlock as for all infants. Thirty-three of the 42 deaths from these diseases were of children 1 month of age or over, 23 occurring between the ages of 2 and 5 months. It is generally conceded that gastric and intestinal diseases are largely preventable and are most frequently caused by neglect, unhygienic surroundings, and improper feeding, especially during the first nine months of life. Many deaths in this group were due to the inability or unwillingness of the mother to nurse her child, or to the separation of mother and child either because it was necessary for the mother to secure employment or because, desiring to be free of all responsibility, she abandoned the child or placed him for adoption.

Relatively two and one-fifth times as many of the illegitimate children as of all children died from causes peculiar to early infancy. Unfavorable heredity, venereal disease, and lack of prenatal care, are some of the factors responsible for early infancy deaths, and they are of special significance in explaining the deaths of children born out of wedlock. Twenty of the 29 deaths of children under 1 week of age were from causes peculiar to early infancy.

All but one of the 22 deaths from respiratory diseases were caused by pneumonia.

CHAPTER II. PROTECTION THROUGH HEALTH SUPERVISION.

Because of the seemingly insurmountable barriers in the way of giving adequate care to the babies of unmarried mothers, their physical needs have formerly had very little consideration, although statistics have indicated that the death rate has been two or three times as high among such babies as among children of legitimate birth. A changed public attitude which considers the question of illegitimacy a public-health problem demands for all babies, regardless of social status, the right to live and be well. The Milwaukee Department of Health believes that no satisfactory progress will be made in lowering the infant mortality rate among these children so long as they are separated into a class by themselves and their problem is considered primarily a moral one. It is convinced that children of unmarried mothers, in common with children of legitimate birth, must be assured protection and scientific care as a matter of public policy.

Various studies of children born out of wedlock made in recent years by the Juvenile Protective Association of Milwaukee have brought to light certain serious defects in the care which the community was giving them:

1. *Placing of children for adoption by midwives and commercial lying-in hospitals.*—In many cases the only advice which an unmarried mother received concerning herself and her child was given by the midwife or commercial lying-in hospital caring for her at confinement. Having been licensed by the State Board of Control of Wisconsin to place children for adoption, these commercially interested midwives and hospitals were in the habit of advising the mothers to give up their babies, whom they then advertised for adoption in the daily papers and placed in uninvestigated and unsupervised homes. For this antisocial solution of her problem the mother paid from \$50 to \$125.

2. *Abandonment of children in unlicensed boarding homes.*—Many children were boarded in unlicensed and unsupervised boarding homes. These included babies brought from outside the city, who were received without investigation and frequently abandoned without any clue by which the mother might be located.

3. *Lack of breast feeding.*—Very little effort was made, by either institutions, organizations, midwives, or boarding mothers, to per-

suade the unmarried mothers to breast feed their infants, a matter so essential to the survival and health of all children. Tiny babies were often separated from their mothers when only a few days old. In one study it was discovered that 55 per cent of the children were separated from their mothers; of these, 70 per cent were under a month old and 85 per cent were under 3 months old at the time of separation. The result was a very high death rate—17 per cent of all the babies in the group studied died before they were a year old.

On the basis of these findings and of the statute which requires that all applicants for placing children for adoption "must in all respects be qualified to engage in the work of finding homes for children," a vigorous protest was made to the Wisconsin State Board of Control against licensing midwives and commercial lying-in hospitals to place children for adoption. It was claimed that no organization operating for commercial purposes, or having a financial interest in the placing of a child, could be interested solely in his welfare, and thus "be qualified to engage in the work." As a result, on September 9, 1919, the board of control refused to continue the licensing of such midwives and hospitals to place children for adoption.

Previous to this action on the part of the Wisconsin State Board of Control, and as a part of the general campaign for better care, a bill was introduced in the Wisconsin Legislature in 1917 which made it illegal to separate a mother from her baby under 6 months of age without an application to, and the consent of, the juvenile court judge. The bill failed to pass. However, great interest was evoked through the publicity given to the conditions which prompted the introduction of the bill; and this was of great assistance in securing in Milwaukee, through cooperation, the practical results which had been sought in the bill.

In carrying out the program for safeguarding children who were about to be separated from their mothers and placed to board, it was held that saving the lives and health of babies is a public-health measure, and that the problem must be attacked at the point where the separation of mother and baby is made. Therefore, the Milwaukee Health Department prescribed, as a first essential in lowering the infant death rate, the keeping of mothers and babies together for at least a three months' nursing period, wherever nursing was physically possible. This plan necessitated social investigation, intensive case work, and the securing of adequate accommodations for the various types of mothers and babies needing help. Taking advantage of a State law which places the licensing, supervision, and regulation of maternity homes and hospitals and child-boarding homes under the State board of health, and requires that a report of the

receipt or removal of a child be made within 24 hours to the local health department, the Milwaukee Health Department deputized the Juvenile Protective Association of Milwaukee to improve the child-boarding system of the city and to issue health department permits for the boarding of children. By this act, in May, 1919, the child-saving campaign was definitely started. Letters were sent to all boarding mothers and to children's institutions, requesting them not to take children to board without this special permit for each individual child. At the same time letters were sent to all maternity homes and lying-in hospitals, asking for their cooperation in an effort to save the lives and health of infants by having all babies breast fed, whenever physically possible, while they were in the institutions. Letters of the same purport were sent to all doctors doing obstetrical work in the city, directing them, whenever breast feeding seemed impossible, to communicate with the commissioner of health or the Juvenile Protective Association of Milwaukee, who would assist in making a plan for the mother and baby.

On the ground that only such boarding homes were legal as were licensed and under the supervision of the health department, the local newspapers cooperated in the campaign by complying with the request not to accept advertisements either to take or to place children to board, but to refer to the Juvenile Protective Association of Milwaukee all who offered such advertisements. Social agencies and institutions in the city were also asked to refer to this association all applicants for boarding children and all cases of mothers and nursing babies needing special provision.

The results of these measures have been gratifying and far-reaching. The child-placing organizations, and the doctors and other individuals who formerly brought many babies a few days old into the city to be placed for adoption, are now required to have permits to board them until they are placed with adoptive parents. Commercial lying-in hospitals and maternity homes, which formerly permitted mothers to leave when their babies were only 10 days or 2 weeks old, without any effort at breast feeding, must now apply for a permit to keep the baby without the mother. This requirement gives an opportunity for a social investigation and for finding a way to keep the mother and baby together, in the city or elsewhere, during the three months' nursing period.

The boarding mothers are enthusiastic about the permit plan. It relieves them of the responsibility—which they do not like—of artificially feeding tiny babies, and also of the risk of receiving children for whom the payment of board is not guaranteed or who may be abandoned by their mothers, as was frequently the case in the past.

The institutions and child-placing organizations are cooperating, not in all instances enthusiastically; but they are being closely watched. It would be hard for an organization not cooperating to explain satisfactorily to the public why it is unwilling to make this effort to conserve the lives and health of the infants for whom it has accepted the guardianship. The child-boarding homes, maternity hospitals, and children's institutions are visited once a week, once in two weeks, or once a month, according to the age of the children, by the nurses of the health department.

A study of the applications for separation, or for exemption from the rule in regard to breast feeding for three months, which came to the Juvenile Protective Association of Milwaukee during the first eight months of the new régime, shows the value of the work. Fifteen per cent of the mothers who applied were not nursing their babies; a number of these babies were placed as feeding cases in the Milwaukee Infant's Hospital, the Home Finding Society took the release of two and placed them at once in adoptive homes, and two died. Sixteen per cent of the mothers would not, or for physical reasons could not, continue to nurse their children. Sixty-nine per cent of those who had applied for immediate separation were persuaded to keep their babies and nurse them, and only 9 per cent of this group released the children at the end of three months. This special study, it must be remembered, covered only those cases in which the mother refused to, or thought she could not, nurse her baby, and leaves entirely out of account all cases in which breast feeding resulted directly from the request of the commissioner of health to doctors, maternity homes, and hospitals for cooperation in carrying out this child-saving program.

To date (early in 1922) no serious difficulty has been encountered in providing against separation. An increasing number of families are willing to take the daughter back into the home with her baby for at least the three months' nursing period; several maternity homes which give postnatal care have been persuaded to accept mothers and nursing babies for three months; and several boarding mothers are willing in return for the services of the mother to give her board, together with shelter for herself and her child, in some instances paying small wages in addition. Intensive work is done in each case, including an effort to establish paternity and to secure the support of the child by the father.

The appeal to the unmarried mother to nurse her baby at least for this minimum period as a kind of reparation for having brought him into the world so handicapped is an almost unfailing argument. Experience with these cases has shown that at the end of the time

required to give the baby a good start physically not only has there been opportunity for a thorough social investigation but the mother has had a chance to recover from her physical and mental strain and is more capable of deciding what she wishes to do for her baby and for her own rehabilitation; thus a better future is assured for the child.

After the plan had been in successful operation for over eight months, Doctor Ruhland, the Milwaukee commissioner of health, made the following statement:¹

The fact that this plan has been tried out in a practical way and that it is working out satisfactorily seems to be the best answer to those who claim it can not be done.

The problem of illegitimacy has too long, in our judgment, been viewed from the standpoint of the unmarried mother. The moral, social, and legal phases of the question have determined in the past and are still largely determining our actions.

The question of the life and health of the child born out of wedlock has not in our judgment received fair and adequate consideration. Under the impulse of protecting the unmarried mother and her family from stigma the child unquestionably has been sacrificed a great many times.

The common practice of separating the mother and the illegitimate child at the earliest opportunity and turning the child over to a baby farm or placing it out for adoption seems to us no longer humane or justifiable, in view of the fact that these unfortunate and innocent children are largely sacrificed thereby. It is a well-known fact that the children born out of wedlock and turned over to institutional care have in some instances a mortality from 35 to 60 per cent within the first year and that those who survive are seriously handicapped in health. It is also known, on the other hand, that the child who is nursed by its mother not only has a proportionately greater chance at life but an equally better chance at health.

Under these circumstances it does not seem justified, therefore, that the claim for consideration for the unmarried mother and her family should receive prior consideration over the rights of the child.

During the year from October 1, 1920, to September 30, 1921, 171 unmarried mothers came to the Juvenile Protective Association of Milwaukee for advice and help in working out plans for themselves and their babies. There has been greater opportunity for service than ever before, because the girls are being reached earlier—before they have been urged to give up their babies or, discouraged by the economic and social struggle, have irrevocably decided that they are not able to assume the responsibility of caring for their children. Of all the children whose mothers applied to the association between the years 1914 and 1920, one-half were under 3 months of age at the time of first contact. During the year 1920-21 three-fourths were under 3 months, and one-fourth were unborn.

The ruling of the Milwaukee Health Department, made in 1919, with reference to a minimum nursing period of three months, has

¹ The Crusader, Motherhood Number, Vol. IX (May, 1920), p. 21.

gradually become better understood, and doctors and lawyers as well as the social agencies are cooperating to assure this birthright to the baby. Of the mothers coming to the attention of the association during the year 1920-21, 68 per cent breast fed their babies three months or more, and 21 per cent had doctors' certificates stating that they were physically or mentally unable to nurse their babies, leaving only 11 per cent whose reason for failure to give their children this advantage was unwillingness to make the necessary personal sacrifice.

One unmarried mother, because no other plan was offered to her, permanently released her 13-days-old baby to the superintendent of the poor. A week later, realizing what she had done and heart-broken to be parted from her baby, she appealed to the association for help. Communication with the superintendent of the institution to which the child had been committed revealed the fact that the baby weighed only 4 pounds and had very little chance of living. The child was returned to the mother, under supervision. The mother nursed her baby for three months, and at the age of 7 months the child weighed 22 pounds.

While the outlook is hopeful for work with the unmarried mother who is a first offender, the problem of repeaters is more difficult. One-fifth of the unmarried mothers who came to the association during the year 1920-21 had, according to their own statements, borne more than one child out of wedlock. It is these girls who have been relieved of the responsibility of their first babies who resent all intercession for the child, and whose motives are stubbornly selfish.

No plan for the physical care of children born out of wedlock will ever be 100 per cent perfect. A three months' nursing period is, of course, inadequate. It was adopted in the belief that a conservative requirement, which does not create opposition and which can be slowly and tactfully enforced through a campaign of education, will in the end bring the best results. By using this method, it may be expected that all those who are interested in the solution of this problem—doctors, nurses, maternity hospitals, child-placing organizations, institutions, and the general public—will eventually awake to a realization that the old method, with its secrecy and its idea of protecting the mother by relieving her of all responsibilities for her child, not only was bad for the mother, but failed in the more important function of saving and protecting the life of the baby.

CHAPTER III. A STUDY OF CHILDREN OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTH UNDER THE CARE OF AGENCIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

SCOPE OF STUDY.

A cooperative study in Milwaukee County was conducted, under the general supervision of the Federal Children's Bureau, by a subcommittee on illegitimacy of the Central Council of Social Agencies of Milwaukee with the cooperation of all local agencies dealing to any considerable extent with the problem. These included two maternity homes, three hospitals with social-service departments, two infant-welfare associations giving nursing care in the home, two child-caring agencies, a family-care agency, the juvenile court, and four private lying-in hospitals which were licensed by the State board of control to place children for adoption. Material for the schedules of the private lying-in hospitals was secured from public records and from reports by the persons who were conducting these institutions. A total of 889 cases involving children born out of wedlock were reported as handled by these agencies during the 12-month period between October 1, 1916, and September 30, 1917. Obviously, many of these were duplicates. The number of different children for whom schedules were received by the committee was 272. Only those children were included who were less than 1 year of age at the beginning and at least 6 months of age at the end of the period, and who had been under care for at least three days.

AGENCY CARE AVAILABLE.

Maternity homes and hospitals.

There were in the city of Milwaukee three private maternity homes, one being also an infants' asylum. Two of these institutions were nonsectarian, and were supported by funds from the Centralized Budget of Philanthropies of Milwaukee. All gave prenatal and postnatal care, and two of them sometimes placed mothers and their babies. During the year 1917 there were 131 illegitimate births in these three institutions. The Milwaukee County Hospital, an institution supported by public funds, reported 27 illegitimate births during the same year, and the Milwaukee Maternity Hospital, one of those financed from the centralized budget, reported 44. These

two hospitals had social-service departments which did a considerable amount of constructive work in such cases. All the institutions named except the county hospital were licensed by the Wisconsin State Board of Control to place children for adoption. Seven other hospitals, sectarian and private, not one having a social-service department, reported a total of 34 illegitimate births for the year. In addition, a children's hospital and an infants' hospital, supported by funds from the centralized budget, one with a social-service department, gave care to children born out of wedlock. During the year of the study 22 schedules were received from one of these, while there was no report as to cases of illegitimacy from the other.

Lying-in homes.

During the same period four commercial private lying-in homes were conducted by midwives. Of these, two reported for the year 17 illegitimate maternity cases each, one reported 20, and one reported 3. Until 1919 all these homes were licensed to place babies for adoption, but in that year their licenses were revoked on the ground that it was a violation of the State law governing adoptions to grant this power to a person or institution with a financial interest in the placing of the child.

Medical and nursing care.

Medical care and health supervision were given, both in the home and at free clinics, by the child-welfare division of the Milwaukee Health Department, which also supervised health conditions in private institutions. During 1917 the division gave aid in 351 cases of birth out of wedlock, this being 4 per cent of the total number of cases with which it dealt. The Visiting Nurse Association of Milwaukee, supported from the centralized budget, which provided nursing care in maternity and other cases, reported eight cases of illegitimate maternity for the year.

Children's institutions.

Temporary institutional care was given to dependent and delinquent children by the Milwaukee County Home for Dependent Children, which also placed children in free homes or for adoption. During 1917 it received 39 children born out of wedlock, this number constituting 5 per cent of all children it received during the year. The Wisconsin State Public School, in the northern part of the State, received children for permanent commitment and also placed them for adoption or in boarding or free homes. This institution and a sectarian institution caring for dependent and neglected chil-

dren made no report as to the number of children cared for. The infants' asylum referred to in the discussion of maternity homes reported 30 children born out of wedlock under care in 1917.

Child-caring and protective agencies.

In addition to the agencies already noted as placing children in family homes, usually for adoption, a children's home-finding society under private control, having its main office in Milwaukee but doing state-wide work, reported 69 children of illegitimate birth placed for adoption from Milwaukee during the year, this group comprising over half the Milwaukee children placed by the society during that period.

The Juvenile Protective Association of Milwaukee, also financed through the centralized budget, paid special attention to aiding mothers in securing support for their children born out of wedlock. During the year it handled 77 illegitimacy cases, which formed nearly a fourth of all its cases, its main work being with neglected children. A "case" represented a family.

The problem of illegitimacy sometimes entered into the work of the Associated Charities, but the number of its illegitimacy cases was not reported.

THE CHILD'S PARENTS.

The inquiry was intended primarily to bring out facts relating to the provision for both the immediate and the permanent care of the child by the mother and whether by public or private agencies. It is from information concerning the moral, mental, physical, and economic ability of the parents to make the necessary provision without outside assistance that the most reliable conclusions can be reached as to the extent and causes of the problems of dependency connected with children born out of wedlock.

Nativity, residence, and age.

Although the children were all cared for by local agencies in Milwaukee County, over one-third of the mothers were neither natives nor residents of the county at the time of their application to the agencies.

Nativity.—The birthplace of the mother was reported in 243 of the 271 cases,¹ and that of the father in only 144. In all but 2 of the cases in which the nativity of the father was reported the nativity of the mother was also known. Eleven per cent of the mothers and 19 per cent of the fathers reported were born in foreign countries. In 111

¹ The number of mothers was 271, 1 mother having borne twins.

cases both parents were native born, and in 13 cases both were foreign born; in 18 cases one parent was native and the other foreign born; in 32 cases the nativity of neither was reported.

Residence.—For the purpose of this study all mothers who had been in the county for six months or more were considered residents, unless it was evident that they had come to it merely because of pregnancy. The residence at the time of application was reported for 257 mothers. Three-fifths of this number (155 mothers) were residents of Milwaukee County, of whom 67 had been born there, 38 elsewhere in Wisconsin, 13 elsewhere in the United States, and 28 in foreign countries, while for 14 the place of birth was not reported. Of the two-fifths, or 102, who were not residents of Milwaukee County, 3 were born there, 66 were born elsewhere in Wisconsin, 13 elsewhere in the United States, and 4 in foreign countries, while the birthplace of 16 was unknown. In some instances these mothers applied for shelter or for confinement care immediately upon arrival in the city, and it is probable that most of the others came either to conceal their condition from relatives or friends or to secure confinement or other institutional or agency care for themselves or their children. A number of mothers whose residence was outside Milwaukee County never came to the county, but applied to a child-placing society for homes for their children, who were in most cases less than a month old.

Age.—The mothers were, as a rule, considerably younger than the fathers. Ages were reported for all but five of the mothers but less than three-fourths of the fathers. The percentages given below are for the groups reported as to age. Thirty-six, or 14 per cent, of the mothers were under 18 years of age at the time of the birth of the child of the study (7 being under 16, the legal age of consent in Wisconsin), but only 2 fathers were reported as being under 18 years. Fifty-six per cent of the mothers, but only 16 per cent of the fathers, were under 21 years of age; while three-fourths of the mothers, but only a little over half the fathers, were between the ages of 18 and 24, inclusive. The age group 25 to 29 years included 8 per cent of the mothers and 28 per cent of the fathers; the age group 30 to 39 years included 5 per cent and 13 per cent, respectively, of the mothers and fathers. No mother was known to be over 39 years of age, whereas 9 fathers were in this group. For each of the 5 fathers who died before the birth of the child, the age was considered that which he would have attained at the time of the birth. (See Table III.)

TABLE III.—*Age of mother at birth of child, by age of father; mothers in selected group: Milwaukee.*

Age of mother at birth of child.	Mothers in selected group.									
	Total.	Age of father at birth of child								
		Under 18 years.	18-20 years.	21-24 years.	25-29 years.	30-34 years.	35-39 years.	40-59 years.	70 years and over.	Not reported
Total.....	271	2	29	74	54	19	6	7	2	7
Under 15 years.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	2
15 years.....	4	.....	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	1	1
16 years.....	7	1	3	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
17 years.....	22	.....	3	5	2	2	2	.....	.....	8
18-20 years.....	113	1	16	40	17	6	.....	2	.....	31
21-24 years.....	84	.....	6	24	21	3	1	1	.....	28
25-29 years.....	21	.....	1	.....	9	4	.....	2	.....	5
30-34 years.....	9	.....	.....	1	2	2	.....	1	1	1
35-39 years.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	1	.....	.....	.....
Not reported.....	5	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	1	.....	2

Mother's early history and usual mode of living.

The early history and usual mode of living of the mothers show something of the influences and circumstances that had surrounded them in the formative period of their lives. In this connection, information was secured regarding the character and status of the maternal grandparents, the mother's reasons for first leaving home, age at leaving home, age at leaving school, grade attained in school, and age at beginning work.

Mother's usual mode of living.—The usual mode of living at the time of the child's birth was reported for 219 mothers. Of this number, 43 per cent were living in their parental homes, 17 per cent in the homes of relatives or friends, and 5 per cent in their own homes. The numbers who lived in their places of employment or in boarding or rooming houses were comparatively small, each of the two groups constituting 17 per cent of the total. One girl was living in a house of prostitution.

As was to be expected, a relatively larger number of mothers in the younger age group were living in the parental home. Only 9 of the 30 mothers under 18 years of age were known to be living elsewhere than in their parental homes—1 in her own home, 3 in the homes of relatives, 2 in their places of employment, and 3 (17 years of age) boarding elsewhere than in the homes of relatives or friends.

Status of mother's parents.—Information as to the status of the mother's parents was secured in only two-thirds (182) of the cases. The homes of 51 per cent of the mothers reported were "normal"—that is, the mother's parents were living together and in this country.

The parental homes of 40 per cent had been broken through the death of one parent, divorce, separation, or desertion. In the case of 9 per cent (19 mothers) no parental home was being maintained in this country, because of the death or absence of both parents. (Table IV.)

TABLE IV.—*Mother's usual mode of living, by status of her parental home; mothers in selected group: Milwaukee.*

Mother's usual mode of living.	Mothers in selected group.						
	Status of mother's parental home.						
	Total.	Normal.	Broken.			Both parents dead.	Neither parent in the United States.
			Total.	One parent dead.	Parents divorced or separated, or a parent deserted.		
Total.....	271	93	70	60	10	11	8
Parental home.....	94	44	31	28	3	.....	19
Own home.....	11	1	3	3	.....	1	5
Relative's home.....	31	10	10	10	.....	5	4
Friend's home.....	6	3	1	1	.....	1	.....
Boarding house.....	35	13	8	6	2	3	8
Place of employment.....	38	18	12	9	3	1	6
Rooming house.....	3	1	2	1	1	.....	.....
House of prostitution.....	1	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....
Not reported.....	52	3	2	2	.....	.....	47

¹ Including 1 case where parents were separated.

² Including 3 cases where 1 parent was dead.

In this study, the status of the parental home seems to have had little influence upon the mother's usual mode of living prior to the birth of the child; about the same percentage of mothers from normal, and from broken homes were living, respectively, in the parental home, in their places of employment, and in boarding or rooming houses, though a somewhat larger percentage of those from broken homes were living in their own homes or in those of relatives.

Age at leaving home and reasons for leaving.—Mothers who were known to have left the parental home at some time prior to the birth of the child numbered 164—61 per cent of all. The age at leaving home was reported for 132; of these, 17 per cent left before they were 14 years of age, 17 per cent at 14 or 15, 27 per cent at 16 or 17, 28 per cent at 18 to 20 years, inclusive, and 11 per cent at 21 years of age or over. The girl's age at leaving home, according to her reason for leaving, is brought out in Table V.

TABLE V.—*Age at leaving parental home, by reason for leaving; mothers in selected group who left home prior to birth of child; Milwaukee.*

Age at leaving home.	Mothers in selected group who left home prior to birth of child.								
	Total.	Reason for leaving home.							
		Unsatisfactory home conditions.	Home broken.	Left to go to school.	Left to secure employment.	Emigrated to the United States.	Married.	Left because of pregnancy.	Other.
Total.....	164	9	21	8	58	10	10	9	14
Under 14 years.....	23		10	1	9				2
14-15 years.....	23	2	3		12	1			3
16-17 years.....	35	3	3	1	19	3	2	1	2
18-20 years.....	37	3	1	2	10	2	4	6	7
21 years and over.....	14	1	1	1	3	4		2	
Not reported.....	32		3		5		4		17

¹ Excluding 51 girls who were never permanently away from their parental homes, and 56 for whom it was not reported whether they were ever away prior to the birth of the child.

Although the death of one or both parents or the divorce, separation, or desertion of parents were obvious reasons why many girls had left the parental home, there were other reasons which had perhaps contributed more largely to their delinquency. Twenty-one had left because their homes had been broken; 10 had emigrated to the United States; 8 had left to attend school and were consequently only temporarily absent; 9 had left because of unhappy or bad home conditions, 58 in order to obtain employment, 9 because they were pregnant and wished to conceal their condition from relatives or friends, and 14 for other reasons. In this last group were some instances in which the girl had been taken at an early age by a relative, who later moved from the city, leaving her in a furnished room, in her place of employment, or with the father of the child; other girls had left home on the persuasion of their seducers, while a few were said to have been incorrigible and unable to get along with their parents.

The schedules show that many girls were deprived of natural home influences and a normal manner of living because of the poor social and economic conditions in the home. Intemperance, crowded homes, the presence of step-parents, stepbrothers, or stepsisters, lack of social life because of the isolation of the home or the severity of the parents, and the spirit of unrest which is so often characteristic of delinquent tendencies—these frequently appear, either alone or in combination, in the girl's reasons for leaving home. There is little question that in many cases the character of her parents was to a large extent responsible, directly or indirectly, for the girl's first separation from her home. Alcoholism, immorality, and other evidences of poor character were present in enough cases to indicate the

importance of these factors in the delinquency of the daughters. On the other hand, it was often found that girls with good and apparently normal parental homes were living elsewhere under the most abnormal and unwholesome conditions.

Age at leaving school and grade attained.—A dislike of the discipline or restraint of school, inability to make the usual progress, and either the desire or the necessity for earning money cause many children to leave school as soon as their parents or the law permit. Only a few mothers whose reasons for leaving were given left school for other reasons than these.

Six mothers included in the study stated that they had never attended school. Of the 175 for whom the age at the time of leaving school was reported, about one-fourth left before they were 14, nearly two-fifths at 14, and only one-third when they were more than 14 years of age.

It is interesting to note the progress that these girls had made in school. Nearly three-fifths of the 187 who had attended school and for whom the grade attained was reported had not reached the eighth grade, and nearly one-third were in the eighth grade when they left school. One-seventh of them, however, had acquired more than an elementary schooling; 2 were college graduates; 1 had been a junior in college; 1 was a normal-school graduate; 1 had attended normal school; 2, business school; and 20, high school.

Of the 45 girls who said they had left school before they were 14, 13 were born in Milwaukee County, and, with one exception, had spent their entire lives there; 19 were born elsewhere in Wisconsin, 6 in other States, and 7 in foreign countries. All but 2 of the 32 girls born outside Milwaukee had come to the county after they had reached the age of 14 years. Three of the 6 girls who had never attended school were foreign born, but all had been 17 years of age and over on arrival in this country.

Age at beginning work.—Of the 155 girls who were known to have been employed and whose ages at beginning work were reported, 54 per cent began work before they were 16 years of age, and 31 per cent between 16 and 18 years. Seventeen girls, most of whom were engaged in domestic service, reported that they were gainfully employed before they were 14; these included 2 who had never attended school, 4 who worked after school hours or during vacation, and a total of 6 (including 1 of the 4) who had left school before attaining the fifth grade. Nineteen girls who began work between the ages of 14 and 16 had not completed the fifth grade.

A large proportion of the 164 girls known to have been employed at some time previous to the end of the study and for whom age at leaving school was reported remained at home without gainful em-

ployment for a year or more, mostly helping their mothers or other relatives at housework—in one instance so that the mother might go out to work, and in several because of the mother's illness. Five of them had had no schooling. Eight of the 22 never gainfully employed had become pregnant while still in school, 4 at 18 years of age or over, the other 4 at ages ranging from 14 to 17 years. A comparison of the mother's age at leaving school and at beginning work is shown in Table VI.

TABLE VI.—*Gainful employment and age at beginning work, by age at leaving school; mothers in selected group: Milwaukee.*

Age at leaving school.	Mothers in selected group.								
	Total.	Gainfully employed.					Never gainfully employed.	Not reported as to employment.	
		Total.	Age at beginning work.						
			Under 14 years.	14-15 years.	16-17 years.	18 years and over.			Not reported.
Total.....	271	225	17	66	48	24	70	22	24
Under 12 years.....	2	2	1	1					
12 years.....	13	13	3	3	2	3	2		
13 years.....	30	27	8	11	3	5		3	
14 years.....	67	66		43	13	2	8	11	
15 years.....	22	19	2	7	7	3		13	
16-17 years.....	31	28	1		20	6	1	13	
18 years and over.....	10	3				3		4	
No schooling.....	6	5	2		1	1	1		1
Not reported.....	90	61		1	2	1	58	5	23

¹ Attending school when she became pregnant.

² Including 1 attending school when she became pregnant.

³ Including 2 attending school when they became pregnant.

⁴ Including 4 attending school when they became pregnant.

Occupation of mother previous to birth of child.

Although many of these women did not remain in any one place of employment for a prolonged period of time and frequently changed from one type of employment to another, the occupation in which the mother was engaged immediately prior to the birth of the child gives a fairly definite idea of the occupation in which she was most frequently engaged. Of the 239 mothers whose occupation prior to the birth of the child was reported, 32 per cent were semiskilled workers, mainly factory or laundry workers, and 25 per cent were domestic servants, while 14 per cent were employed as charwomen, laundresses, waitresses, or other servants. Fifteen per cent were clerks and saleswomen, most of the former being clerks in stores. Four women were engaged in professional pursuits—3 teachers and 1 actress. Five women were prostitutes, three of them without any other gainful occupation.

Information as to occupation was obtained for all but 2 of the 36 mothers who were under 18 years of age. Twenty-three of them

were gainfully employed at some time prior to the birth of the child; 13 of this number were factory or laundry workers, 5 were servants, and 5 were in clerical occupations. Of the 11 who were not employed, 3 were housewives, 4 were in school, and 4 had no occupation. Only 2 of the 7 who were under 16 years of age were known to have been employed; 1 of these was a bookkeeper, and the other was a nursemaid.

Marital condition of mother and of father.

Marital condition at the birth of the child was reported for all but four of the mothers, but for only about three-fifths of the fathers. Of the 267 mothers whose marital condition was known, 250 were single at the time of the birth of the child, 6 were married, 2 were widowed, 6 were deserted, 1 was separated from her husband, and 2 were divorced. Of the 170 fathers whose marital condition was known, 85 per cent were single, 12 per cent were married, 1 per cent widowed, and 2 per cent divorced. In 137 of the 250 cases in which the mother was single the father also was single, in 17 he was married, in 1 widowed, in 4 divorced, and in 91 his marital condition was not reported. In 3 cases both parents of the child were married, and in 3 others the mother was married and the father's marital condition unreported. (The babies of 4 of these mothers were known to have been adopted or placed for adoption.) Of the 11 cases in which the mother was widowed, deserted, separated, or divorced, the father was single in 6, divorced in 1, and of unreported marital condition in 4.

In some cases the history of the mother for nearly two years after the birth of the child was known to the agency which cared for her, but the usual period was much shorter. Owing to the limitations of the study no effort was made to obtain information beyond the subsequent marriage of the mother within the period of the study. Of the 261 mothers known to be single, widowed, deserted, separated, or divorced at the time of the birth, 33 were known to have married before the close of the year of the study, 24 of them marrying the fathers of the children.

Mother's physical and mental condition.

Only 97, or 36 per cent, of all the mothers were known to have had a physical examination at the time of application to the agency for care. Of these 10 had venereal infection, 1 was crippled, and 4 were in poor general condition although no definite defect was noted; in 6 cases there was no report as to the result of the examination. Among those who were not examined, 1 was deaf and dumb and 2 were crippled.

Although only about one-third of the mothers had a physical examination, an even smaller proportion were known to have had a mental examination. Mental examinations were seldom given unless the applicant showed marked signs of mental disorder or abnormality. If all the mothers had been examined, many more might have been found to be subnormal or abnormal. Of the 30 mothers examined, 20 were found to be normal; 4, subnormal; 5, feeble-minded; and 1, insane. In addition, 13 others were considered by the agencies to be subnormal.

Character of mother and of father.

Only 101, or 59 per cent, of the mothers for whom there was a report, were considered of good character; ² 32 per cent were known to have been guilty of other sexual misconduct; 2 reported as immoral were also alcoholic, and 1 was also otherwise delinquent; 4 mothers were reported as wayward, and 11 as of poor character. Six of the 36 girls under 18 years of age at the birth of the child had been immoral previously; 1 girl of 14 had been immoral since she was 13. Fifty—more than one-fifth—of those 18 years of age or over were known to have had other sex experiences. There were 5 professional prostitutes—1, 17 years old, 3 between the ages of 21 and 24, inclusive, and 1, 25 years of age.

Forty-four of the fathers—over one-fourth of those for whom information was obtained—were known to have been alcoholic, immoral, delinquent in some other way, or of otherwise poor character. These 44 do not include 19 men who absconded in order to avoid their responsibilities as fathers. Twenty-one were reported as immoral, in some cases being also intemperate or otherwise delinquent or both; 7 were alcoholic; 4 were otherwise delinquent; and 12 were of otherwise poor character.

A consideration of the character of the mother in relation to the character and status of her parents, though based on meager data, throws some light upon the relationship between home conditions and the girl's delinquency.

Of 90 girls whose parents were reported to be of good character and who were themselves reported as to character, 30 were known to be of poor character, including 25 who were immoral, 2 prostitutes, 2 wayward, and 1 of otherwise poor character. Of the 32 girls reported, one or both of whose parents were alcoholic, immoral, or of otherwise poor character, 23 were reported to be of poor character—14 were immoral, 3 were prostitutes, and 6 of otherwise poor

² Only the sexual irregularities of the father or the mother other than the one resulting in the birth of the child of the study are here considered, so that "of good character" means more accurately "of good character except for the offense which is the basis of the study."

character. For 99 girls and 99 sets of parents, no report as to character was received; these groups included 49 cases in which there was no report for either the girl or the parents.

The influence of the status of the mother's parents upon her character can not be satisfactorily analyzed in this study because the data were complete for both mothers and parents in only 129 cases, or less than half the total. The available facts indicate very little difference in the character of the mothers who had come from normal parental homes, those who came from broken homes, and those who on account of their parents' death or absence from the United States had no parental homes.

Mother's other children.

Sixteen mothers had been married at some time previous to the period of the study; 11 of them were known to have had one or more children of legitimate birth. Twenty-six mothers, all 18 years of age or over, were known to have had one or more other illegitimate pregnancies. The number of mothers who had other children, either of legitimate or of illegitimate birth, and the number of such children were as follows:

Five mothers had one child of legitimate birth (including one mother who had also one other child of illegitimate birth and one who had two other children of illegitimate birth).

Five mothers had two children of legitimate birth (including two mothers who had also one other child of illegitimate birth).

One mother had three children of legitimate birth.

Twenty mothers had one other child of illegitimate birth (including one mother who had also a subsequent illegitimate pregnancy, one mother who had one child of legitimate birth, and two who had two children of legitimate birth).

Five had two other children of illegitimate birth (including one who had also one of legitimate birth).

One mother, who had no other children, became illegitimately pregnant subsequent to the birth of the child of the study.

Ability of mother to care for child.

The mother's moral, mental, and physical condition, and her economic circumstances, are of the greatest significance in connection with her ability to care for the child. Her financial condition is the one that can most easily be remedied by the assistance of relatives, friends, or social agencies. She frequently fails in caring for her child when she is morally, physically, and mentally capable of doing so, owing to financial circumstances which necessitate her employment too soon after the birth of the baby, either for her own well-being or for that of the child. In some instances the mother is forced to obtain employment for the first time when the child is most in need of her care, because of the inability or unwillingness of her parents to support her and her child.

For convenience, the 225 mothers for whom some report was obtained as to ability to care for the child were classified as follows:

1. Mothers whose moral, mental, physical, and economic condition apparently made it possible for them to assume the care and responsibility of the child unaided, although some of them at the time might not be economically independent. Of the 225 mothers, 25 per cent were known to be in this class, and an additional 43 per cent were reported as probably belonging to it.³

2. Mothers whose age, physical or mental condition, or degree of economic ability made it difficult for them to care for the child unaided, though they could provide for part of the child's support or care for the child under supervision—at least during infancy—if given financial assistance. In this class 38 mothers were included, 9 because of instability of character, 8 because of mental inability, 2 because they were physically unfit, 10 because they were financially unable, and the remaining 9 for combinations of these reasons.

3. Mothers whose moral, mental, or physical condition indicated that they could not care for the child. Thirty-four mothers were included in this class, 26 because of moral and 5 because of mental unfitness, and the remaining 3 for combinations of these reasons.

Moral unfitness, either alone or in combination with other reasons, was present in 44 of the 72 cases in which the mother was either wholly or partly unable to care for her child; financial inability was present in 26, mental unfitness in 17, and physical unfitness in only 2 cases.

Thirty-one of the 36 mothers under 18 years of age at the birth of the child were reported as to ability to care for the child; 5 were reported as entirely able to give this care unassisted, and 11 were able, so far as known. Only 5 mothers under this age were apparently entirely unable to care for their children, 3 because of moral unfitness and 2 for mental reasons. Ten mothers were partly unable, financial inability entering into all but 1 case in which the mother was morally unfit.

Moral unfitness was reported as more prevalent among the older mothers than among those under 18 years of age. Of the 230 mothers 18 years of age or over the information indicated that 29 were entirely unable to care for their children. The inability of 26 mothers was due to moral unfitness, 3 of these being also mentally unfit; 3 others were mentally unfit. Twenty-eight mothers were partly unable to care for their children—13 because of instability of character (2 being also of low mentality and 3 in poor financial condition), 7

³ Though all the children included in the study were under the care of agencies, in many cases the agencies gave only maternity or nursing care. The classification of the mother in these cases as being fully able to care for the child is not inconsistent with the facts.

because of mental unfitness (2 being also financially unable), 3 because of their physical condition (2 being also financially unable), and 5 because of their financial circumstances.

Economic status of father.

So little information was secured concerning the fathers of these children that it is difficult to reach any definite conclusion as to their economic status and the extent to which they were able to contribute to the support of the children.

Twenty-five per cent of the 192 fathers whose occupations were reported were employed as skilled workers; this group included machinists, carpenters, and others. The next largest group was that of the semiskilled workers—19 per cent; 16 per cent were clerks and salesmen; 15 per cent were laborers; 13 per cent were proprietors, officials, or managers. There were 7 servants, 6 professional persons, 2 officials or semiofficial public employees, and 8 who had no gainful occupation (6 students and 2 unemployed, 1 being an old soldier receiving a pension). Half the group of proprietors, officials, and managers were farmers.

Even less is known of the earnings of the fathers than of their occupations. This item was reported for only 54 of the 271 fathers. Of these, 2 earned less than \$10 a week—a semiskilled worker earning less than \$5 and a salesman earning between \$5 and \$9; 39 (over seven-tenths) earned between \$10 and \$20 a week; the remaining 13, who earned between \$20 and \$29 a week, belonged to various occupational groups—1 was a professional man, 1 a proprietor, 7 were skilled workers, 3 were semiskilled workers, and the occupation of 1 was not reported.

Father's contributions to support of child.⁴

In 77 cases, or 28 per cent, court action was initiated. In 46 cases the court made a definite order for the support of the children—29 fathers were ordered to make regular contributions and 4 to pay confinement expenses and to contribute to the child's support; 12 fathers made financial settlements through the court, and 1 agreed to make periodic payments. The way in which the fathers actually contributed is of interest, as in some instances the court allowed the payments to be either periodic, in a lump sum, or part cash and the balance monthly. It was reported that 13 fathers made cash settlements; 10, continuing payments; 7, cash and continuing payments; 13, continuing payments and payment of pregnancy expenses. One father failed to make any contributions, and for 2 fathers no report was obtained.

⁴ See Chapter IV, Legal Action for the Support of Children Born out of Wedlock, pp. 133 ff.

In 7 of the 77 cases the results of the court action were not reported, although 5 of these fathers paid the pregnancy expenses. In 15 cases no provision was made by the court because the case was pending at the end of the period, the whereabouts of the defendant was not known, the alleged father was found not guilty, it was impossible to determine the child's paternity, or the child had died; in one of these cases the father gave the mother a small sum of money. In 9 instances the parents married, and no further provision for the child was considered necessary.

In 78 cases, or 29 per cent, it was known that no court action was taken. In 49 of these 78 cases the father made no contribution, and in 6 cases it was not reported whether he made any contribution or not; 23 fathers contributed in some way toward the child's support—9 married the mothers, 1 lived as married with the mother, 6 paid the pregnancy or confinement expenses (2 of these making a small extra cash payment), 4 made cash settlements (1 being for a very small amount), 2 made continuing contributions, and in 1 case the type of payment was not reported.

In 116, or 43 per cent, of the cases it was not reported whether court action had been taken. No report was obtained as to the father's contribution in 99 of these cases; in 1 case he made none; in 16 cases he assisted in the child's support. Four of these 16 men married the mothers, 6 made cash settlements (2 for very small amounts), 5 paid pregnancy or confinement expenses, and 1 made a contribution the type of which was not reported.

In all, only 99 of the fathers (36 per cent) were known to have made any contribution toward the support of the child, including those who married the mothers and those who paid pregnancy or confinement expenses. Sixty made contributions as a result of court action, 23 without court action, and in 16 cases it was not reported whether court action was taken. Sixty-five (24 per cent) made no contributions, and for 107 (39 per cent) no report was obtained.

In 40 instances the court specified a definite amount to be paid either in a lump sum or in continuing payments; in 13 of these cases the father made a lump-sum payment; in 19,^{4a} continuing payments; in 5, lump sum and continuing payments; in 1 case nothing was paid, though the court ordered a payment of \$300; and in 2 cases no report was obtained as to payment. The inadequacy of court provision for the child born out of wedlock is shown in the orders or agreements in connection with these 40 cases. The amounts paid in lump sums varied from \$100 to \$800, averaging about \$400. The \$800 paid by one father was placed in the custody of the county poor officer, who paid the mother \$12 a month. The amounts fixed upon and toward which the father was making continuing payments averaged

^{4a} Including 9 cases in which the parents married.

slightly more than \$400, the highest amount being \$600. The amounts upon which the father paid part cash and the balance in monthly payments ranged from \$200 to \$500, averaging \$400.

ABILITY OF MOTHER'S PARENTS TO CARE FOR CHILD.

Some facts have been brought out in regard to the whereabouts of the mother's parents and the conditions in her parental home. The existence of a normal home makes it more probable that the mother will have a place in which she can stay temporarily, at least, after the birth of the child, and that she will have someone to give her other assistance. Little information was obtained in regard to the willingness of the maternal grandparents to care for the child; in a few instances, however, it was reported that they were not willing to care for the child and would not permit the mother to return home with him. Even among the mothers who took their babies to their parental homes, there were a number who were compelled to obtain employment in order to make the necessary provision for themselves and their children.

In presenting information no distinction has been made between a home in which both parents were living together, a home maintained by the one surviving parent, a home in which there were a parent and a step-parent, and a foster home. In a number of cases in which one parent had died and the other had not remarried, the surviving parent was maintaining a home, was economically independent, and was willing to assist the mother in the care of the child.

The ability of the mother's parents to care for the child is shown in the following list:

Total mothers	271
Parents able ⁵	113
Parents unable ⁶	13
Parents unfit ⁷	28
Both parents dead	11
Neither parent in the United States	5
One parent dead, ability of surviving parent not reported ⁸	11
Ability of parents not reported ⁹	90

Thus, in over three-fifths of the cases in which a report was obtained the mother's parents—or her surviving parent—were considered able to assist materially in the care of the child, and in 64

⁵ Including 22 cases in which one parent was dead and the surviving parent was able. In 11 cases there was a step-parent in the home.

⁶ Including 6 cases in which one parent was dead and the surviving parent was unable. In 1 case there was a step-parent in the home.

⁷ Including 7 cases in which one parent was dead and the surviving parent was unfit.

⁸ Including 3 cases in which one parent was dead, and the surviving parent was not in the United States.

⁹ Including 6 cases in which the parents were known to be living; in 1 of these cases the parents were separated. In 2 cases there was a step-parent in the home.

cases they had cared for the child at some time. In 40 of this last group of cases the mother was living with the child in the parental home at the close of care, while in 4 others the child was there but the mother was living elsewhere. The failure of the grandparents to care for the child was not always due to their unwillingness to assume the responsibility. In some instances the mother preferred to live elsewhere because of antagonism on the part of some member of the family, because she wished to conceal her condition from some relative or friend, or because she could secure employment more easily if living elsewhere.

MATERNITY CARE.

- The type of assistance needed by the mother prior to and at the birth of the child is closely related to the question of the provision that must often be made for the child by public or private agencies. In many cases application was made to an agency for care during pregnancy, in other cases confinement care only was requested, and in a small proportion of the cases the first request for care for the child or for other assistance came after the child's birth. In a number of the first two groups of cases the agency assumed the care of the child and either continued to supervise both mother and child for some time or placed the child in an institution or private home, in some instances placing him for adoption.

A large number of the 102 mothers known to have come from outside the county evidently came for confinement care, for 70 per cent of such mothers whose place of confinement was reported went to a maternity home or hospital in the city for confinement.

In over 90 per cent of the 245 cases in which the attendant at birth was reported, the mother received a physician's care; 10 mothers confined in commercial lying-in hospitals were attended by a midwife, as were also 12 other mothers, of whom 4 were confined in their own homes, 5 in their parental homes, 2 in other private homes, and 1 in a rooming house. In 1 of the 2 cases in which there was no professional attendant at birth the mother was taken to a hospital immediately after the birth of the child.

Of the total number of mothers, 75 per cent were confined in maternity homes or hospitals, 12 per cent in their parental homes, 6 per cent in other private homes, 3 per cent in their own homes (where they were living independently, or with the fathers of the children, or with their husbands), and 2 per cent in boarding or rooming houses, while for 2 per cent the place of confinement was not reported. One mother was confined in an institution for delinquent girls. She had become pregnant while on parole and had

been returned to the institution. The day after the child's birth she was taken to a maternity hospital.

The place of confinement, and the method by which the confinement expenses were paid, are shown in Table VII.

TABLE VII.—*Payment of confinement expenses, by place of confinement; mothers in selected group: Milwaukee.*

Place of confinement.	Mothers in selected group.								
	Total.	Confinement expenses paid by—						Con- fine- ment care free.	Con- fine- ment ex- penses never paid.
		Mother.	Father.	Rela- tive, friend, or other indi- vidual.	Private funds.	Public funds.	Not re- ported.		
Total.....	271	31	53	21	1	24	83	53	5
Maternity home or hospital..	202	1 17	2 32	1 11	1	22	68	49	2
Parental home.....	33	5	10	6	—	—	9	1	2
Relative's home.....	11	3	3	3	—	—	2	—	—
Own home.....	9	—	7	—	—	1	—	1	—
Other private home.....	6	4	—	1	—	—	—	1	—
Rooming or boarding house.....	5	2	1	—	—	1	—	—	1
Correctional institution.....	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Not reported.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—

¹ Including 3 cases in which care was partly free.

² Including 1 case in which care was partly free, and 1 in which part was paid from public funds.

³ Including 1 case in which relatives paid part.

⁴ Including 1 case in which part was never paid.

⁵ The wife of the baby's father.

In nearly one-third of the cases no report was obtained as to the way in which the confinement expenses were paid. In 31 per cent of the cases in which there was a report, the expenses were never paid, or the care was given free; they were paid in 28 per cent by the father, in 16 per cent by the mother, in 13 per cent from public funds, in 10 per cent by relatives, and in 1 per cent by private individuals or from private funds. In a few instances the person reported as having paid the confinement expenses paid only part.

Two hundred and three mothers were known to have been in maternity homes or hospitals before, and 209 mothers after, the birth of the child. The time spent in such institutions before the birth of the child varied from a few hours to over six months, some remaining for the longer periods because they could not make the necessary provision for themselves under the circumstances, others because they wished to conceal their condition. By reference to Table VIII, it is seen that about one-third of the mothers who received care previous to confinement and for whom the length of time was reported were under care for less than one month, while over one-fourth were under care for three months or more. Twenty-seven mothers remained after the birth of the child for one week or

less, and a total of 95 for less than a month, 34 remaining for three months and over. Those mothers who remained for a considerable length of time, either before or after confinement, paid in part for their care by working in the institution when their physical condition permitted.

TABLE VIII.—*Length of residence in maternity home or hospital, before and after birth of child: mothers in selected group who received maternity home or hospital care; Milwaukee.*

Duration of care before birth of child.	Mothers in selected group who received maternity home or hospital care.									
	Total.	Duration of care after birth of child.								
		Less than 1 week.	1 week.	2 weeks.	1 month.	2 months.	3-5 months.	6 months and over.	Time not reported.	Inapplicable.
Total.....	210	1	26	68	38	28	25	9	14	1
Less than 1 week....	33	1	8	9	5	5	2	.....	3	.....
1 week.....	11	.....	.....	6	.....	2	2	.....	1	.....
2 weeks.....	7	.....	1	4	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....
1 month.....	31	.....	.....	9	9	5	3	5	.....	.....
2 months.....	24	.....	2	8	7	2	4	.....	1	.....
3-5 months.....	37	.....	1	9	5	8	8	4	1	1
6 months and over....	3	.....	.....	1	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Not reported.....	57	.....	14	18	9	4	4	.....	8	.....
No previous residence.....	17	.....	.....	4	2	.....	1	.....	.....	.....

¹ Mother returned home before birth of child.

² These mothers entered the hospital the day after the birth of the child.

CARE OF THE CHILD.

Agency care.

The care of the child born out of wedlock is not only a problem extremely difficult of solution by the individual mother but also one of the most baffling with which public and private agencies are concerned. The child of legitimate birth normally comes into a home prepared for him, and has the benefit of a mother's care and a father's support under circumstances which receive the sanction and the approbation of society. For the child of illegitimate birth no place has been prepared; the mother is handicapped by the strain and suffering involved in her unsanctioned maternity; in most instances the father can be found and induced to contribute to his child's support only through the efforts of social agencies or the compelling action of a court of law. The life and welfare of the child are in many cases dependent upon the assistance rendered before, during, and after birth by agencies giving maternity and infant care, and upon the plans made for his subsequent care by private and public agencies in cooperation with the mother and her relatives.

Of fundamental interest in an analysis of the facts pertaining to the care of children born out of wedlock is a consideration of the kind of care that it is necessary for agencies to provide and the length of time that such care is required. The mothers in the majority of the cases included in this study first came to the attention of the agencies through circumstances connected with the birth of the children, the assistance requested being hospital or other care for which the mother was herself unable to arrange. In other cases help in securing employment was asked especially by those who wished to keep the children with them. In still others advice and counsel were desired—frequently in connection with the prosecution or apprehension of the father of the child. In a few instances the case came to the attention of the agency through the application of some interested person who knew that the child was not receiving proper care from the mother.

Numbers of children cared for by agencies of different types.—A number of the 272 children of the age group included, cared for during the year of the study by the agencies affiliated with the Conference on Illegitimacy of the Milwaukee Central Council of Social Agencies, were under the care of more than one of these agencies; and in all probability some of them received additional assistance from other agencies either in Milwaukee County or elsewhere. The largest number of children—98, or more than one-third of the entire group—were under the care of the three hospitals with social-service departments. One of these children was also aided by a child-caring agency and 1 by an infant-welfare agency. A few of the mothers and children received only temporary hospital care, but others were supervised by the hospital social-service workers for an extended period after they left the hospital.

Almost as many children (87, or nearly one-third of the total) received help from the child-caring and family-care group of agencies and the juvenile court, 83 receiving care from the two child-caring agencies included in the study. These 87 included 1 child also cared for by a hospital with a social-service department, and 1 also under the care of a maternity home. Forty-four, or one-sixth, of the children were cared for by maternity homes, including 1 also cared for by a child-caring agency. Children born in maternity homes in some instances remained for extended periods after birth, because either they or their mothers were in need of hospital treatment; but no supervision was given after the mother and baby left the home. Only 22 children received care from infant-welfare agencies, one of these being also under the care of a maternity hospital. Twenty-four children were cared for by the private lying-in hospitals in which their mothers were confined.

Children receiving prolonged care.—Only those agencies were considered to have given prolonged care which definitely assumed the supervision of the child or the responsibility of providing for him. Neither hospital and nursing care nor court care was considered as prolonged care, unless it was supplemented by supervision in the home. In the following discussion only the first prolonged care given by an agency is considered. For this reason, the figures here presented are not comparable with those given under "numbers of children cared for by agencies of different types." Fifty-nine (22 per cent) of the 272 children were given only temporary care by the affiliated group of agencies, although some of them had received prolonged care from other agencies.

The extent of work done by hospitals with social-service departments is brought out by the fact that 64 children, or 30 per cent of all who received prolonged care, were first given such care by institutions of this type; and the nature of their work is emphasized by the fact that at the time of the mother's application 58 of these 64 children were unborn, 2 were less than 1 month old, 2 were between 3 and 5 months, 1 was 8 months, and 1 was 9 months old.

Maternity homes gave the first prolonged care in 36 cases, or 17 per cent of all those in which prolonged care was given. Thirty-four of these children were unborn at the time application was made, and 2 were less than 1 month of age. Of the 8 who came under the care of commercial lying-in hospitals, 7 were unborn at the time of application, and 1 was less than 1 month of age.

The largest number of children, however (105, or 49 per cent), received their first prolonged care from child-caring agencies. Two-thirds of these children were less than 2 months of age when application was made.

Separation from the mother.

Many of the unmarried mothers included in the study, either because they were not able to care for themselves and the children or because they wished to be free from all care and responsibility, placed their children in boarding homes, in institutions, or in private homes with relatives or with persons who were considering the adoption of the children. The marriage of the mother and the establishment of a home of her own, the improvement of her physical or economic condition, or an awakening affection, sometimes caused her to take back the child. Marriage in some cases, however, was the reason for separation. In a few instances the child was temporarily away from his mother because of his need for hospital treatment, or the mother's illness. In such cases, and in others where the separation was for a few days or a week, the child was not considered to have been separated from his mother. One hundred and twenty (44

per cent) of the 272 children were never separated from their mothers; 145 were separated from their mothers at some time; in 7 cases no report was made as to separation.

The percentages of children separated from their mothers at some time prior to the close of care or the end of the period did not differ greatly for mothers under and over 18 years of age, being 50 and 55 per cent, respectively.

Although the reason for the separation was reported in only 56, or 39 per cent, of the 145 cases, it may be assumed that the reasons stated are fairly representative of the entire group. A number of factors entered into some of these situations; only those have been considered, however, that were directly responsible for the separation of the mother and the child. One mother died. In 17 cases the mother was morally unfit; 5 were mentally subnormal, and 3 were physically unable; 3 mothers abandoned their babies, and 10 gave them up in order to conceal the fact of their illegitimate maternity. In the 17 remaining cases the reasons were varied, the mother in many instances giving up the child for apparently insufficient reasons.

In the 25 cases of separation caused by the physical, mental, or moral unfitness of the mother, the ages of the children at separation ranged from less than 2 weeks to 1 year; 11, however, were less than a month old at separation. In 7 of the 10 cases in which the reason for separation was the wish to conceal the child's birth the child was less than a month old, and in only 1 was the child as much as 3 months old. One abandoned child was less than 2 weeks old, 1 was 1 month old, and the third was 7 months old. Of the 17 children separated for "other" reasons, 3 were less than 2 weeks old, and only 2 were 9 months of age or over. To sum up, 45 per cent of the 135 children whose ages at the time of first separation were known had been separated before the age of 1 month, 19 per cent at 1 month, 16 per cent at 2 to 3 months, and 9 per cent at 4 to 5 months of age. Hence 89 per cent of these children were deprived of their mother's care when under the age of 6 months. In view of the remedial action later taken by the Milwaukee Health Department,¹⁰ it is significant that of the 265 children for whom facts as to separation were reported, 45 per cent were separated from their mothers before they were 6 months of age.

In considering what proportion of their lives the children spent with their mothers, prior to the close of care or the end of the period covered by the study, only the 129 children who were 6 months of age or over at that time are included. The mothers of 22 of these children were under 18 years of age; 11 of these mothers kept their

¹⁰ See pp. 100-101.

babies with them the entire time during which the case was known, 5 did so for four-fifths, 1 for three-fifths, and only 5 for less than one-fifth of the time—a somewhat surprising fact. A decidedly smaller proportion of the 107 mothers 18 years of age and over than of those under 18 kept their babies with them for the greater part of the time. The proportion of the child's life spent with the mother was reported in 96 cases of this group; in one-third of these cases the babies were cared for by their mothers during the entire time, 7 babies were with the mother during four-fifths, 3 during three-fifths, 54—considerably over one-half—during less than three-fifths, and 40 for less than one-fifth of the time.

To sum up, 33 per cent of the 129 children had been with their mothers during the whole time, 9 per cent during four-fifths of the time, 3 per cent during three-fifths, 6 per cent during two-fifths, 5 per cent during one-fifth, and 35 per cent for less than one-fifth of the time. For 9 per cent of this group of children the time spent with the mother was not reported.

Type of placement and age of child at close of care.

The youth of the mother, her traits of character, her mental caliber in relation to the grade of the situations which she was competent to hold, her economic condition, the living arrangements which it was possible for her to make, and the ability of relatives or friends to give financial assistance or other aid, were the factors most frequently determining the types of provision made for the child.

In this discussion, all temporary placements such as hospital care or temporary boarding care pending the completion of permanent arrangements for the child have been disregarded. The discussion of homes in which the child had lived refers to the homes—including the mother's own home, the home of a relative, or an institution in which he had been placed with the intention that he should remain there at least for an indefinite time. Two hundred of the 272 children were known to be living in "permanent homes"—thus defined—at the close of care or the end of the period of the study. Of the other 72 children, 52, of whom 36 were under 6 months old, were in maternity homes or hospitals. Of the remaining 20, for whom no permanent arrangements were made, all but one child 3 months old were less than 1 month of age.

Of the 200 children who had been placed in permanent homes prior to the close of care or the end of the period of the study, 90 were with their mothers at that time. Of the 87 of these children whose whereabouts were known, 46 per cent were in the homes of their maternal grandparents, 10 per cent in the homes of other relatives or of friends, 21 per cent in the mothers' own homes, 11 per

cent in children's institutions, 6 per cent in the mothers' places of employment, and 6 per cent in boarding or rooming houses.

Nine of the 10 children who were with their mothers in children's institutions were under 6 months of age at the close of care; of the 67 who were in private homes of various types, 24 were under 6 months of age; of the remaining 10 children, 4 were under 6 months of age. In brief, over half the children with their mothers at the close of care and reported as to age and whereabouts were under 6 months of age.

Of the 107 children who were not with their mothers at the close of care, 52 per cent were in adoptive homes, 27 per cent were in institutions for dependent children under agency supervision, 15 per cent were in boarding homes, and 6 per cent were in the homes of relatives or friends (including 4 children in the homes of their maternal grandparents, 1 child in the home of another relative, and 1 in the home of his guardian).

The children less than 6 months of age among those away from their mothers at the close of care included 18 of the 56 children in adoptive homes, 15 of the 29 children in institutions, and 4 of the 16 children in boarding homes, making a total of 37, or 35 per cent of the 107 away from the mother at the close of care.

Table IX states the age of the child at the close of care or the end of the period, and whether or not he had ever been separated from his mother.

TABLE IX.—*Separation of child from mother, by age of child at close of care or end of period; children in selected group: Milwaukee.*

Age of child at close of care or end of period.	Children in selected group—			
	Total.	Never separated from mother.	Separated from mother at some time.	Not reported as to separation.
Total	272	120	145	7
Under 1 month	27	22	4	1
1 month	23	15	7	1
2 months	29	14	15	.....
3 months	19	9	10	.....
4 months	16	6	10	.....
5 months	20	6	14	.....
6-8 months	48	15	33	.....
9-11 months	36	11	25	.....
12-17 months	31	13	17	1
18 months, under 2 years	11	2	8	1
Not reported	12	7	2	3

Over one-fifth of the 50 children known to have been under 2 months of age at the close of care were known to have been separated from their mothers at some time. For the succeeding age groups the proportion of children separated increased from somewhat over one-half of those 2 or 3 months of age to nearly seven-tenths of

those 6 to 11 months. Of the 42 children known to have been a year old or over, considerably more than one-third had never been separated.

Number of different homes in which the child lived.

The home or place of residence of 232, or 92 per cent, of the 252 children was known to the agencies for the entire period from birth to the close of care. Seventy-one children—some in each age group, although 45 per cent of those whose ages were reported were under 6 months of age—remained in the home or institution in which they were first placed. Half the children had lived in two homes, 1 of them being less than 1 month and 82 per cent under 9 months of age at the close of care. Thirty-five children had had three homes intended to be permanent, 3 of them being only 2 months of age, 12 from 3 to 5 months, 11 between 6 months and 1 year, and 9 over 1 year of age. One of the 9 children who had four permanent homes was 3 months of age; the other 8 were between the ages of 6 and 18 months. One child who was 11 months of age had lived in five homes, and another who was 20 months old had been placed six times.

In 20 of the 252 cases there were periods of weeks or even months in which the child's place of residence was not known to the agencies; no one of these children was less than 1 month old at the close of care, and three-fourths of them were 9 months of age or over. Of these 20 children, 5 were known to have been placed once, and others may have been in what were considered permanent homes during the intervals in which their residence was not known. Three of them had lived in at least two homes; 3, in three; 5, in four; 1 child was placed five times; and 1 child, six times. For the remaining 2, no information was available.

Types of homes.

Because of the frequent changes of residence of some of these children, the types of homes in which the children were living at the close of care or the end of the period give a very incomplete account of the arrangements which were made for them during their infancy.

In practically all the cases in which the child was in his grandparents' home the mother remained with him; in about one-fifth of the cases of children in institutions the mother was also in the institution, and the mothers were with the children in one-seventh of the cases in boarding homes.

Children cared for in mother's parental home.

Sixty-five children—24 per cent of the group of the study—lived in the mother's parental home at some time prior to the close of care

or the end of the period. In 14 of these cases no report was obtained as to the ability and fitness of the grandparents to care for the child. The grandparents were able to care for the child in 25 of these cases, or half those in which a report was obtained; they were in 3 cases unable and in 6 unfit. In 17 cases one grandparent was dead; in 6 of these the surviving grandparent was able, in 4 unable, in 4 unfit to care for the child, and in 3 cases there was no report. The proportion of cases in which the grandparents were reported as able to assist in the care of the child was practically the same among those who were actually caring for the children as among those who were not. In 33 per cent of the cases in which the children had been in the mother's parental home and the ability of the grandparents was reported, and in 24 per cent of those in which they had not, one grandparent was dead. Including those whose grandparents were dead or in a foreign country, there were 19 children whose mothers had no parental homes in this country to which they could take their children.

Thirty-three, or 50 per cent, of the 65 children who at some time lived in their grandparents' homes were born in these homes, and all but 7 of the remaining number were placed there before they were 3 months old.

Three children remained in their grandparents' homes for less than 2 weeks, 6 for 2 weeks but less than 1 month, 8 for 1 or 2 months, 11 for 3 to 5 months, 11 for 6 to 8 months; 1 for 9 months, and 12 for 12 to 17 months; for 13 the length of time was not reported. No child who had reached the age of 18 months was known to have remained in his grandparents' home the entire period.

Children cared for in boarding homes.

Twenty-three per cent of the children (63) had lived at some time in boarding homes. In only 9 of these cases was the mother with the child. Approximately the same percentage of children of the mothers over 18 years of age as of the mothers under 18 were cared for in boarding homes.

In 80 per cent of the cases in which the child was in a boarding home he had been placed there when less than 3 months of age. Three children were born in boarding homes, 8 were so placed before they were 2 weeks old, 17 when between 2 weeks and 1 month, 21 when 1 or 2 months, 5 when from 3 to 5 months, 5 when from 6 to 11 months, and 2 when 1 year of age or over; the ages of 2 were not reported. Fifty-one children lived in only one boarding home, 6 lived in two, and 3 lived in three; for 3 children the number of homes was not reported.

Children in institutions.

Fifty-one, or 20 per cent, of the 255 children for whom there was a report were known to have spent some time in children's institutions. In 39 of these cases the mother was separated from the child.

The age when placed was reported for 49 of the 51 children. With the exception of one child 18 months old, all of these were less than a year of age when they came under the care of an institution for children. Five children were less than 2 weeks of age, 10 were 2 weeks but less than 1 month, 21 were 1 or 2 months, 6 were from 3 to 5 months, inclusive, and 6 were between the ages of 6 months and 1 year. The length of care varied from less than two weeks, in the case of 6 children, to 13 months for 1 child. Six were under care for two weeks but less than a month, 19 for one or two months, 9 for three to five months, and 9 for six months or more; the length of care given 2 children was not reported. Thirty-nine of these children were still in children's institutions at the close of care.

Children in adoptive homes.

Sixty-one children, or 24 per cent of those for whom a report was obtained, were in adoptive homes prior to the close of the period of the study. In 8 cases the child's mother was under 18 years of age; in 52 cases she was 18 or over; and in 1 case the mother's age was not reported.

EXAMPLES OF PROBLEMS DEALT WITH.

The following cases illustrate some of the situations confronted by the agencies giving care to unmarried mothers and their children:

The great disparity in age between the mother and the father which is sometimes found is illustrated by the story of a foreign-born girl of 15 who had come to this country when 2 years of age. The father of the child was 71 years of age. The girl, who had never worked, was living in her parental home and attending school when she became pregnant. Six months before the birth of the child application was made to a maternity hospital for confinement care, the reason for the application being that her home was unfit. The father of the child was prosecuted for rape, but the case was dismissed. He was also arraigned on a charge of bastardy, and after having pleaded guilty was required to make a settlement of \$800. to be paid to the mother in monthly installments through the county poor office.

One feeble-minded girl had lived since childhood with foster parents who were evidently people of means, although the mother was a cripple and mentally incapable of properly training a child. Apparently the girl had had immoral relations with a number of men; she could not give a reliable story as to the paternity of the child. When the baby was 10 days old he was committed to a home for dependent children; he died at the age of 13 months. After the birth of the child the mother was committed to an institution for the feeble-minded.

A woman of 25 had received no schooling except three weeks' instruction in a catechism class. She worked at home from the age of 9 to that of 18, when she left to be married. Having borne two legitimate children, six years after marriage she secured a divorce on the grounds of cruelty and nonsupport and went to live with a married sister. She took in washing, and received State aid for dependent children until it became known that she was illegitimately pregnant. Five months after the birth of the child she married the father.

A woman 32 years old, who had spent her entire life in Milwaukee, had never attended school, and began work as a domestic servant at the age of 12 years. When she was 23 she married. A legitimate child died in infancy. Her husband soon deserted her, and she then returned to her parental home, where she kept house for her father until his remarriage. A sister and her illegitimate child were living in the home, but when this girl became illegitimately pregnant the father, urged by the stepmother, turned her out. She then went to live with a man not the father of the child, remaining with him for four years. The child of the study was the fourth she had had and the second by this man. Of her children born out of wedlock, the first had died at birth, the second was in the home of a relative, and the child of the study was in a home for dependent children, having been removed from the mother's home by the juvenile court. The mother was adjudged feeble-minded and committed to the State home for the feeble-minded.

One of the mothers—a girl of 14, diagnosed as subnormal—left her home in Milwaukee to go to Chicago with the father of her child. The couple were located there and brought back to face the charges awaiting them. The girl's mother was evidently blameworthy, as she had permitted the man to remain in the house as a boarder and allowed the girl to go out with him, in spite of the father's objections. The girl admitted having had immoral relations since she was 13 years of age. She was committed to an institution, where she stayed until she went to the maternity hospital for her confinement. After leaving the hospital she returned to the institution and was placed under close supervision. The baby died of congenital debility when he was 1 month old.

The father of an 18-year-old girl had turned her out of the house two years prior to her application to the agency because he could not control her. Up to the time when she came to the attention of the agency she lived in the home in which she was employed as a domestic servant. She admitted having had illicit relations with men ever since she was 15 years of age. The father of her child was a married man, intemperate, not a steady worker, and in the habit of going out with girls other than his wife. At the age of 10 months, after various changes of residence, the baby was permanently committed to the agency to be given out for adoption.

CHAPTER IV. LEGAL ACTION FOR THE SUPPORT OF CHILDREN BORN OUT OF WEDLOCK.

THE STATE LAW AND PROCEDURE.

In the State of Wisconsin the proceeding for the support of a child born out of wedlock is a civil one, the purpose of the law being to secure support for the child so that he may not become a public charge.¹ Because the proceeding is civil and not criminal, the alleged father can not be extradited if he leaves the State to evade prosecution. Although a civil proceeding, it is of a quasi-criminal nature, and consequently it is necessary to prove "beyond a reasonable doubt" that the defendant is the father of the child. Criminal proceedings for abandonment and nonsupport may be brought in the case of an illegitimate child in the same manner as though he were legitimate.

The Wisconsin law was amended in 1915² to make the father liable for the support of a child born out of wedlock until the child is 16 years of age. The same amendment gave rights of inheritance from the father when paternity had been adjudicated by court proceeding or when it had been admitted in open court; and it further provided that if the paternity of the child had been determined in court proceedings the name of the father was to be entered on the birth certificate. A 1917 amendment³ provided for legitimation by subsequent marriage of the parents.

No warrant in bastardy is issued until the district attorney has examined the complainant and has given an order for a warrant. No order is given before the birth of the child without a statement from a physician to the effect that the woman is pregnant. No reputable physician will give such a statement unless pregnancy is advanced at least three months; hence, no warrant is issued before that time. On some occasions, the sheriff brings the alleged father to the district attorney's office as soon as he is apprehended, in order that the district attorney may question him and give him an opportunity to make a true statement before he has talked with a lawyer or has been advised to plead not guilty. If settlement⁴ is not made

¹ Stat. 1919, secs. 1530-1542.

² Laws 1915, ch. 258.

³ Laws 1917, ch. 218.

⁴ See p. 134.

and approved, and there is probable cause to believe the man guilty, he is usually released on bail, to appear at the next term of court. As the trial of the case can not be held until after the birth of the child, the case is often continued. Nonsupport proceedings may be started at any time after birth.

An assistant district attorney prosecutes cases involving the support of children born out of wedlock, representing the interests of the county and of the mother and child. The hearings are held in an open court room, often filled with idle men, lawyers not concerned with the case, and curiosity seekers. In some instances, if the testimony is particularly revolting, the judge requests onlookers to leave the court. The mother of the child is the complainant in the majority of cases and is a State's witness. Evidence of specific immoral acts, unless occurring within a period of three months—the alleged month of conception, the previous month, and the month following—is not permitted. However, the attorney for the defendant almost always attempts to show that the complainant was not previously chaste and often endeavors to prove specific instances of immorality with other men. Even if these allegations are wholly unfounded or incapable of proof, or if the time of the acts to which they refer makes them irrelevant, they do much to prejudice a jury against the complainant, often with the result that the prime consideration—the welfare of the child—is overlooked. Such testimony also tends to break down the morale of the mother at a time when she is physically weak, to make her a poor witness, and to rob her of what self-respect she may have had before entering the court room.

The law defines the father's responsibility as follows:⁵

If the accused shall be found guilty or shall admit the truth of the accusation he shall be adjudged to be the father of such child and shall stand chargeable with its future maintenance in such sum and in such manner as the court shall direct, and also for all expenses incurred by such town or county or by the mother of such child for the lying-in and attendance of the mother during her sickness and also for the care and support of such child since its birth and until it shall attain the age of 16 years and for the cost of the prosecution.

Prosecution is dropped at any time during the proceeding if the defendant makes a settlement. Articles of settlement must be approved by the district attorney. The district attorney accepts proof of marriage of the defendant and plaintiff as a settlement and cause of dismissal of action. Three forms of settlement are used by the district attorney's office: (1) The man admits the paternity of the child and agrees to support him until the age of 16 or to make a

⁵ Stat. 1919, sec. 1535.

lump-sum settlement. (2) The man denies the paternity and the charges brought against him, but agrees either to support the child to the age of 16 or to make a lump-sum settlement. (3) After a warrant or the preliminary hearing, the man may enter a plea of guilty and agree to support the child until the age of 16 or to make a lump-sum settlement.

Full responsibility for establishing the child's rights does not rest with the mother. The Wisconsin law provides that when the mother of a child born out of wedlock commences a proceeding and fails to prosecute, the supervisor or proper officer of the county or any person interested in the support of such child may prosecute in her stead. Furthermore, if a woman gives birth to, or is pregnant with, a child out of wedlock who is likely to become a public charge, the county poor commissioner or the proper county official may, if he deems proper, apply for the examination of such woman on oath, respecting the father of her child, the time when and the place where such child was begotten, and such other circumstances as he may deem necessary, and shall thereupon issue a warrant without further or formal complaint and proceed in the same way as if a complaint had been made by the woman.

If the father of the child fails to pay the amount ordered by the court, he may be arrested for child-abandonment or for nonsupport and dealt with in the same manner as the father of a child of legitimate birth. The payments are made through the county poor office, as directed by the court.

There is no provision by the court for supervision of the mother, nor for investigation to see that the money is used for the child and that the child receives proper care. The mother does not come into contact with a woman official in connection with the case from the time she makes her complaint until its final disposition.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAW IN MILWAUKEE COUNTY.⁶

The following material with reference to court action for the support of children born out of wedlock covers the cases begun or settled in Milwaukee County during the year 1916. It was secured from the records of the civil court and checked with the records of the county poor office (through which the moneys for the support of the children are paid) and the district attorney's office. No records were available regarding the complaints made in cases where no warrant was issued because there seemed to be no probable cause for action.

⁶ For a discussion of contributions by the fathers to the support of the group of children discussed in Chapter III, see pp. 118-120.

Number of cases.

In 176 cases there appeared to be probable cause for court action; in 170 of these cases a warrant was issued for the arrest of the alleged father of the child, and in 6—not included in this analysis—settlement was made voluntarily out of court, no warrant being issued. In 13 cases warrants could not be served because the alleged fathers could not be located.

Time of making complaint.

In 103, or 61 per cent, of the cases in which warrants were issued, complaint was made against the alleged father before the child's birth. The age of the child at the time of complaint in the 67 cases in which complaint was filed after the child's birth was as follows:

Total children -----	67	3-5 months-----	7
-----	-----	6-11 months-----	10
Under 1 month-----	17	1 year and over-----	11
1-2 months-----	16	Age not reported-----	6

Only 28 complaints—about one-sixth—were known to have been made after the child was 3 months old.

Length of time between issuance and serving of warrant.

Of the 157 warrants served 137, or seven-eighths, were served within three days' time, 12 others before the end of the month, a further 6 before six months had elapsed, and 2 between six months and a year after issuance. Hence, in only 5 per cent of the 157 cases was the warrant served more than a month after it was issued.

Admission or denial of paternity.

No report was obtained as to the results of the arraignment in 39, or one-fourth, of the 157 cases in which the warrant was served. Forty-five, or 38 per cent, of the fathers for whom a report was obtained, pleaded guilty and admitted paternity; 66, or 56 per cent, pleaded not guilty and denied paternity; 7, or 6 per cent, denied paternity at first but later admitted it.

The outcome of the 66 cases in which the defendant pleaded not guilty and denied paternity was as follows:

Total fathers -----	66	Defendant died-----	1
Found guilty-----	11	Child died-----	2
Made settlement-----	30	No living issue-----	2
Married mother-----	10	No probable cause of complaint--	8
Mother married other man-----	1	Outcome not reported-----	1

In 51 of the 66 cases the alleged father, though denying paternity, assumed some responsibility for the support of the child.

Bail.

In 31 of the 137 cases in which arrangements for bail were reported, no bail was necessary, 8 cases being settled without trial, while in 23 cases the mother and father married immediately. Bail was furnished for 49 fathers, 9 fathers signed their own bonds, and 48 were committed to the county jail; 14 of the last-mentioned group later furnished bail.

Cases brought to trial.

It is noteworthy that only 14 cases—9 per cent of those in which the warrant was served—were ever brought to trial, and that the defendant was acquitted in only 1 of these. Eight men had jury trials; of these, 6 were found guilty, 1 changed his plea to that of guilty, and 1 was found not guilty. Of the 6 tried without juries, 2 pleaded guilty, and 4 were found guilty.

Settlement.

In 86 of the 157 cases in which warrants were served a settlement was made. In 7 of these cases the child died; of the 79 settlements made for living children, 20 were made prior to the preliminary hearing, 36 at the preliminary hearing, 11 after the preliminary hearing but before trial, and in 12 cases the time of settlement was not reported. Of the 157 cases in which a warrant was served, 49 were adjusted by the marriage of the parents, and 1 by the mother's marriage with another man.

The question as to whether proceedings for the support of a child born out of wedlock should be settled by forcing a marriage of the parents is a very serious one. If the parents are apparently fond of each other, had become engaged, and were intending to marry, there is a fair chance that they will provide a normal home life for their children. But if marriage had not been intended, or was promised only in case the girl became pregnant, a forced marriage seems a dangerous expedient. Little information is available regarding the outcome of forced marriages, but case-working organizations have frequently found that such a marriage increased rather than decreased the difficulties.

Proportion of cases in which provision was made for the child.

The percentage of cases in which provision was made for the child was high—88 per cent of the 157 cases in which warrants were served. Of the 18 cases dismissed after service of warrant with no provision for the child, the defendant was found not guilty in 1 case, in 8 others there was no probable ground for complaint, in 6 the children died, in 2 cases there was failure to prosecute, and in 1 case the defendant died.

Orders or agreements for periodic or lump-sum payments.

Eighty-six fathers were ordered to make periodic or lump-sum payments of specified amounts for the support of their children born out of wedlock, or entered into agreements to do so approved by the district attorney. The amounts the fathers agreed to pay were as follows:

Total fathers.....	86
Amount specified.....	74
Less than \$200.....	5
\$200-\$400.....	12
\$400-\$500.....	21
\$500-\$600.....	31
Over \$600 ⁷	5
Amount not specified.....	12

Fourteen of these fathers were required to make immediate payments and 14 to continue payment indefinitely "until paid." The father was ordered to make full payment in 1 case within 5 days, and in 18 cases within 60 days. Seven fathers were allowed 1 year; 6, between 1 and 2 years; and 2, more than 2 years. In 24 cases the time allowed was not reported.

Forty-seven fathers were ordered by the court to make, or agreed to make, monthly payments to be continued until the child was 16 years of age. Some of these fathers accepted the alternative of a lump sum to be paid within a short period of time. According to these orders and agreements, the total amount which should have been paid by the close of the period studied was \$14,961.50. The amount actually paid, however, was \$6,307, or only 42 per cent of that amount. The average amount ordered or agreed upon for each child during the 21 months' period for which information was available was \$318, or \$15 per month; the average amount paid was only \$134, or \$6.38 per month.

Assuming that payments will continue at this rate until the child is 16 years of age, more money will have been made available for the child than under the method of lump-sum payment. Taking into consideration, however, the men who will get away without paying the full amount and those who will pay only small amounts after arrest for nonsupport and periods of detention in the house of correction, it is difficult to say whether the periodic payment or the lump-sum method is the better.

Lump-sum payments aggregating \$13,820 were ordered or agreed upon in the cases of 43 children,⁸ being an average of \$321.39 for

⁷ Includes 1 father ordered to pay \$750, and 1 ordered to pay \$1,000.

⁸ Four of these children were also included in the discussion above of monthly payments; the fathers had been ordered, or had agreed, to make monthly payments, but had accepted the alternative of lump-sum payments.

each child. Of this amount, \$13,675 was actually paid, an average for each child of \$318. Paid out, as this money almost always was, at the rate of \$8 or \$10 a month, it would be exhausted before the child was 3 years and 4 months of age.

The amendment to the law relating to children born out of wedlock which provides for their support until they are 16 years of age was passed only in 1915,⁹ so that at the time of this study no information was available which would indicate its effectiveness. The superintendent of the poor, through whom the payments are made, reported that a large percentage of the fathers take advantage of the alternative of a lump-sum settlement paid within a definite time. The amounts demanded in such settlements have been gradually increased, so that at the time of the study the district attorney was requiring a sum at least 50 per cent larger than was required five years previously. These settlements were made with the idea that a smaller sum in hand is better than a larger sum ordered to be paid in periodic installments until the child is 16, because of the chance of the man's getting away and paying nothing. However, larger lump-sum settlements should be required, even though it necessitate extension of the time of payment, so that the support may continue for a much longer period than 4 years. The clear intent of the law is to make provision for the child during his years of legal dependency.

DIFFICULTIES IN THE PRESENT LAW AND PRACTICES.

The question is frequently asked, "Why are not a larger proportion of the fathers of children born out of wedlock required to assume their due share of responsibility?" Of the 170 cases for the support of children of illegitimate birth begun or closed during 1916, 103 involved children born in that year. This figure is only 25 per cent of the total number—420—of children born out of wedlock in Milwaukee during the year. Money was paid for the support of 50 of these 103 children; the parents of 22, or 5 per cent of the total, married after the birth of the children.¹⁰ Hence, the number of children for whom support was secured after court action was only about one-sixth the number of children born out of wedlock during the year.

At the present time the opportunity for the establishment of the paternity of every child born out of wedlock, and the securing of support from the father, is very limited for the following reasons:

1. In practice it is entirely voluntary with the mother whether any effort shall be made to establish the paternity of her child and to obtain support for him. Many women do not know that they can

⁹ Laws 1915, ch. 258.

¹⁰ The 27 cases in which the parents were married prior to the birth of the child have not been included, because these children were registered as of legitimate birth.

legally hold the father responsible for the support of his child, and only a few agencies and institutions dealing with unmarried mothers make it a practice to advise them to lodge complaint against the alleged fathers, in an effort to establish paternity and secure support for the children. Some organizations accept a small money settlement from the father without legal action and without establishing the paternity of the child. Aside from the rights of the child and the mother, it would be a decided step toward prevention if an effort were made to establish paternity in every case, and the father were then required, through a court order, to give the child adequate support.

2. The present method of conducting hearings in an open court room filled with curious spectators does not encourage a girl voluntarily to go through this most difficult ordeal. She is not given the protection and consideration in these proceedings which should be given her as a State's witness.

3. The present law provides for the support of a child until he is 16 years of age, but the order for support is based on the economic status of the father at the time when the case is heard. If, for example, the father is then a young man in school or just starting in business, he is not able to contribute much to the support of the child; and the order for support, instead of being changed from time to time as his income increases, continues throughout the 16-year period to require only the small contributions which originally represented his ability to pay.

4. The present method of administration makes it possible for the alleged father to make a financial settlement after a warrant has been issued. One of the accepted forms for such a settlement states that the man denies the charges and makes no admission of the paternity of the child. In 1916, 39 per cent of the cases were settled in this way, which leaves paternity in doubt and provides no record that can be used as evidence in inheritance cases.

LEGISLATIVE CHANGES NEEDED.

1. The purpose of the laws governing the support of children born out of wedlock should be primarily to safeguard the interests of such children. It seems fitting, therefore, that the juvenile court, which was instituted primarily to look after the interests of children, should administer the laws with reference to the support of this special group of dependent children. At present, action for the support of children born out of wedlock is held to be neither a purely civil nor a purely criminal action, but a quasi-criminal action. Exclusive jurisdiction in cases involving the support of children born out of wedlock might well be lodged in the juvenile court, and the

definition of "dependent" children under the juvenile court law made to include children born out of wedlock. In this court of socialized experience and equipment the mother could receive the benefit of the help of the probation staff, and particularly the assistance of women officers.

2. Provision should be made for the judge to exclude from the court room during these proceedings all persons whose presence, in the estimation of the court, is not necessary to the trial, except in cases in which the defendant shall demand a public hearing.

3. Provision should be made for the court, after a hearing upon due notice given to the defendant, to modify the order for payments for support from time to time, according to the changed economic condition of the father.

4. The law should further be amended by substituting the phrases "a child born out of wedlock," and "cases involving the support of children born out of wedlock," etc., for the words "bastard," "bastardy," "illegitimate," or "illegitimacy."¹¹

¹¹ For resolutions of the Chicago and New York Regional Conferences on Illegitimacy see *Standards of Legal Protection for Children Born Out of Wedlock*, pp. 14-19. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 77. Washington, 1921.

$$f(x) = \frac{1}{x^2}$$

$$f'(x) = -\frac{2}{x^3}$$

$$f''(x) = \frac{6}{x^4}$$

$$f'''(x) = -\frac{24}{x^5}$$

$$f^{(4)}(x) = \frac{240}{x^6}$$

$$f^{(5)}(x) = -\frac{2880}{x^7}$$

$$f^{(6)}(x) = \frac{20736}{x^8}$$

$$f^{(7)}(x) = -\frac{331776}{x^9}$$

$$f^{(8)}(x) = \frac{4026304}{x^{10}}$$

$$f^{(9)}(x) = -\frac{32210432}{x^{11}}$$

$$f^{(10)}(x) = \frac{386525184}{x^{12}}$$

$$f^{(11)}(x) = -\frac{4638302208}{x^{13}}$$

$$f^{(12)}(x) = \frac{55659626240}{x^{14}}$$

$$f^{(13)}(x) = -\frac{667915514880}{x^{15}}$$

$$f^{(14)}(x) = \frac{8014986178560}{x^{16}}$$

$$f^{(15)}(x) = -\frac{96179834142720}{x^{17}}$$

$$f^{(16)}(x) = \frac{1154158009712704}{x^{18}}$$

$$f^{(17)}(x) = -\frac{13849896116552704}{x^{19}}$$

$$f^{(18)}(x) = \frac{166198753398632448}{x^{20}}$$

$$f^{(19)}(x) = -\frac{2010385040783590400}{x^{21}}$$

$$f^{(20)}(x) = \frac{24124620489403072000}{x^{22}}$$

$$f^{(21)}(x) = -\frac{289495445872836864000}{x^{23}}$$

$$f^{(22)}(x) = \frac{3473945350474042368000}{x^{24}}$$

$$f^{(23)}(x) = -\frac{416873442056885084160000}{x^{25}}$$

$$f^{(24)}(x) = \frac{5002481304682621010073600}{x^{26}}$$

$$f^{(25)}(x) = -\frac{600297756561914521208832000}{x^{27}}$$

$$f^{(26)}(x) = \frac{7203573078742974254506048000}{x^{28}}$$

SECURING EMPLOYMENT FOR UNMARRIED MOTHERS IN NEW YORK CITY.¹

THE BASIS OF THE STUDY.

The New York State Charities Aid Association has since 1894 paid special attention to securing employment for mothers with young children. Between October 1, 1916, and September 30, 1917, its "subcommittee on assisting and providing situations for mothers with infants" gave assistance in 396 new cases of unmarried mothers with children.² The 243 cases among this number in which the children were not yet 1 year of age at the beginning of the period but were at least 6 months of age at the end of the period, and in which agency care continued for three days or more,³ are the basis of this study. These cases involved a total of 247 children, there being four sets of twins.

The Department of Public Charities of the City of New York and the social-service workers of the hospitals in the city and its vicinity refer large numbers of applicants to the New York State Charities Aid Association. This agency aims, through the hospital social-service workers, to get in touch with the young mother when she makes application at the hospital for maternity care; to provide her, if necessary, with prenatal care under the supervision of its own medical clinic; and to be ready to furnish assistance when she leaves the hospital, especially such as will enable her to support herself while keeping the child with her. The association has on its staff a woman physician who examines women and children who come to the office, and a nurse who assists the physician, visits homes and hospitals, and follows up any cases needing special care. In addition to these a visitor does court work, chiefly in assisting unmarried mothers to secure support from the fathers of their children; she also investigates the cases of new applicants for work and does some visiting among mothers placed in situations near the city.

¹ Written by Mary E. Milburn from material gathered by Mary R. Mason, secretary of the subcommittee on assisting and providing situations for mothers with infants, New York State Charities Aid Association.

² Annual report of the New York State Charities Aid Association for the year ending Sept. 30, 1917, pp. 32-36. Also, the 45th Year's Work of the State Charities Aid Association: A brief summary of a year of constructive philanthropy, 1917, p. 4.

³ This number includes children who would have been 6 months of age or over if they had lived. The 243 mothers formed one-fourth of the total number of unmarried mothers with children who received care during the year.

During the latter part of the year covered by the study a research worker was employed who gave special attention to mothers with children of illegitimate birth.

In a small proportion of the cases the mother applied to the agency for prenatal or convalescent care, for a place to board the baby, or for assistance in the prosecution of the father, but nearly all the mothers asked for assistance in securing employment. The following analysis is designed to show the types of women with which the agency had to deal, and, so far as possible, the results of its work, in terms of the welfare of the child.

The information secured has been considered under three main headings: (1) The mother's history and environment, (2) the assumption of responsibility for the care of the child, and (3) agency care given the mother or the child. To what extent the child is handicapped by the lack of a normal home in which father and mother supply care and support, is largely determined by the mother's age and training, her physical, mental, and moral condition, and the home influences and other circumstances which affect her ability to care for the child through her own efforts. The status of the mother's parents and their ability and willingness to assist may somewhat modify the problem; and certain social facts which affect the father's ability to assist in the care of the child, as well as his economic condition and his actual contributions to the child's support, are also of importance. When the mother fails in her effort to care for the child unaided, or feels that she is unable to undertake the task alone or with such assistance as her parents or the father of the child may render, she frequently turns for help to such social agencies as the one considered here.

THE MOTHER'S HISTORY AND ENVIRONMENT.

Age and marital status.

At the time of the birth of the child, 4 of the mothers were only 15 years old, and more than one-eighth were under 18 years—the age of consent in New York State; two-thirds were between 18 and 24 years, inclusive. The oldest mother was 42 years of age.

Two hundred and twenty-six of the mothers were single women, 7 were widows, and 10 were married. Of this last group 9 were separated from their husbands or had been deserted.

Race and nativity.

Half the mothers were foreign born; 11 per cent were colored. Only 4 per cent of the foreign-born mothers, in contrast with 23 per cent of the native born, were under 18 years of age at the time

of the birth of the child. A small number of the foreign-born mothers had been in the United States only a few months at the time of application to the agency. The fact that the agency specialized in placing mothers at housework may account for the large proportion of foreign born among its applicants—51.5 per cent among the group studied as compared with 37.8 per cent foreign born among all single, widowed, or divorced women 15 to 44 years of age, inclusive, in New York City in 1910.⁴

Mode of living.

In a large proportion of the cases in which the mothers applied for assistance in obtaining situations where they could work and keep their children with them, the babies were only a few weeks old at the time of application. Approximately two-thirds of the women were in maternity homes or hospitals or in convalescent homes at the time of application, one-seventh were with relatives or friends, and a slightly smaller number were living in furnished rooms or boarding houses; only 5 per cent were in their parental homes, and 3 per cent were in their places of employment. Three mothers were in their own homes with the fathers of the children, 1 was in a State correctional institution, and 1 was in the home of the father of her child and his wife.

The type of home in which the mother had been accustomed to live prior to the birth of the child was reported for all but five mothers. About 20 per cent had been living in their parental homes, and 21 per cent in the homes of relatives or friends; 6 per cent were in independent homes; 42 per cent were living in their places of employment, and 11 per cent were in rooming or boarding houses. Of the remaining mothers, one had spent nearly all her life in an institution, one was with relatives of the baby's father, one with the baby's father and his wife, and the other had been traveling with a theatrical company for a number of years. Hence it is evident that more than half the mothers were living under conditions other than those existing in a normal home.

The parental home.

The women in this study may be classified in three groups according to the status of their parental homes—those whose homes were normal (i. e., whose parents were living together and in this country); those whose homes had been broken through death, or separation of the parents; and those whose parents were not living in this country.

⁴ Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Vol. 1, p. 629.

The general facts concerning the status of the parental home are shown in the following list:

Total reported.....	222	Parents divorced or separated, or parent deserted.....	11
Both parents in the home.....	33	One parent not in United States..	1
One parent dead.....	60	Both parents dead.....	45
		Parents not in United States.....	72

Only 43 of the mothers had been living in the parental home—20 in "normal" homes and 23 in homes maintained by one parent.

Many of the girls left home at an early age. The age at leaving home was reported for 194 of the mothers who had left at some time prior to the birth of the child. One-fifth left before they were 14 years of age, one-eighth at 14 or 15 years, and another fifth at 16 or 17 years—a total of 55 per cent who were living elsewhere than in their parental homes before they were 18 years of age. Twenty-nine per cent left home between the ages of 18 and 21 years, while 16 per cent remained until they were 21 years of age or older. The majority of the 41 girls deprived of their parental homes before they were 14 years of age—in 36 cases through the death or separation of parents—were under 10 years at the time, and some were infants. Only 24 mothers were known to have remained in the parental home until the time of confinement; 2 others were absent only temporarily.

The chief reasons for leaving home were reported as follows:

Total leaving home.....	217	Pregnancy	12
		Marriage	9
Emigration to United States.....	83	Employment.....	19
Broken homes.....	56	Other	11
Bad or unhappy home conditions..	7	Not reported.....	20

Schooling and employment.

Twenty-nine girls either had never attended school or had had practically no schooling; all but 2 of these were of foreign birth and had not come to this country until they were 14 years of age or over. Over a fifth of the 198 mothers reported as to age at leaving school left before they were 14 years old, and nearly three-fourths before they were 16. Of the group of 43 who left school before reaching the age of 14 years, three-fourths were born outside New York State, and only 6 had come to New York before they were 14.

Of the 142 girls for whom amount of schooling was reported, less than 10 per cent had more than a grammar-school education; only 2 girls had graduated from high school. Nineteen per cent had attained the eighth grade, 39 per cent the seventh, sixth, or fifth grade; 13 per cent had stopped in the fourth or a lower grade, and 20 per cent had no schooling.

Nearly 10 per cent of the mothers who were living elsewhere than with their parents had left their homes primarily to secure employment. It was necessary also for a number of those compelled to leave through the death or the separation of parents—especially those in the higher age groups—to obtain employment and to become economically independent as soon as they left home. Of the 41 girls who left home before they were 14 years of age, 38 were known to have been gainfully employed at some time prior to the close of the study, though half of them did not go to work until they were 16 years of age or over.

Only 22 of the 237 mothers for whom information was secured as to occupation had never been gainfully employed prior to the birth of the child. Four of this number were attending school when they became pregnant, 12 were housewives, and 6 had no occupation. The 215 known to have been gainfully employed had been engaged in a limited number of occupations. Somewhat over two-thirds had been employed as servants, the greater number working for private families; 14 of these mothers were under 18 years of age at the time of the birth of the child, 1 being only 15 years old. Among the 53 mothers employed as semiskilled workers were 42 factory operatives and 6 laundry workers. Thirteen girls, all of whom were 17 years of age or over at the time of the birth of the child, were employed as clerks, messengers and bundle wrappers, or telephone operators. One girl—23 years of age—was a prostitute with no other occupation, and one of the domestic servants was known to be also a prostitute. A dancer, an actress, and a nurse made up the group whose occupations came under professional pursuits.

Mother's physical and mental condition and character.

The physical condition of the mother at the time of her application to the agency indicated to a great extent her usual condition, as only those defects were reported that were of a permanent nature or were such as seriously to impair her ability to care for the child. The mother's physical condition is of great importance in cases such as those here discussed, since it affects the child before birth and during the early months of life, and is a determining factor in the mother's ability to provide for herself and the child during the period of the child's dependency. Of the 225 mothers given physical examinations by the agency, 76 per cent were in good physical condition, 10 per cent had venereal infection, 3 had tuberculosis, 3 had epilepsy, and 27 were in generally poor condition (including 1 probably epileptic). One mother not examined was a cripple.

The mother's mentality has long been recognized as an important factor in connection with the problem of illegitimate maternity; nevertheless, mental diagnoses were seldom made in the cases studied

unless the applicant for care showed marked signs of mental disorder or defect. Only 30 mothers were given mental examinations: 5 were found to be normal; 14, high-grade feeble-minded; 6, mentally subnormal or abnormal; and 5, mentally deranged. Two mothers not examined were reported to be insane.

Owing to the difficulty of securing accurate information on character, the number of mothers reported as being previously immoral—46 per cent of the 193 for whom there was information—was probably an understatement; 2 of these were professional prostitutes. Very few were reported as guilty of offenses other than sexual; of these 9 were wayward or of generally poor character, 7 were alcoholic (6 also immoral), and 4 had been otherwise delinquent (3 also immoral).

Thirty-two mothers were known to have had children of illegitimate birth previous to the children of the study, 24 having had 1 and 8 having had 2. One of these mothers was a prostitute, 3 were alcoholic, and 1 had been guilty of other delinquencies as well as being immoral. Although little was known of these women for any considerable time subsequent to the birth of the child of the study, 3 were known to have had 1 child of illegitimate birth subsequently, and 2 others were illegitimately pregnant at the close of the period—1 of these, an intemperate woman, having had also 2 previous children born out of wedlock.

ASSUMPTION OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR CARE OF CHILD.

Mother's ability to care for child.

Although all the mothers included in the study found it necessary to apply to an agency for assistance of some kind—maternity care, hospital care for themselves or their children, assistance in securing employment, or homes for the children—in 103 cases, or 42 per cent, the mothers appeared to be entirely able to care for their children by their own efforts. These 103 mothers and 45 others concerning whom no definite inability was reported by the agency have been grouped together, making in all 148, or 61 per cent of the mothers, who were considered able. Table I indicates that the chief reason for the mother's inability to care for the child was moral unfitness, while financial, mental, and physical reasons, youth, and waywardness accounted for smaller numbers. In the 58 cases of moral or mental unfitness it was necessary for the agency to provide for the children away from their mothers, and to continue the supervision for longer periods than when the mothers were merely too young or were physically or financially handicapped.

TABLE I.—*Ability to care for child, by age at birth of child; mothers in selected group: New York City.*

Age of mother at birth of child.	Mothers in selected group—							
	Total.	Able to care for child.		Partly or entirely unable to care for child. ¹				
		Entirely.	So far as known.	Morally.	Mentally.	Physically.	Financially.	For other reasons.
Total.....	243	103	45	43	15	6	22	9
15 years.....	4				1			3
16 years.....	7		2	2			1	2
17 years.....	21	6	3	7		1	2	2
18-20 years.....	73	38	14	11		1	7	2
21-24 years.....	87	38	21	9	8	2	9	
25 years and over....	51	21	5	14	6	2	3	

¹ In tabulating, if the mother was unable to care for the child for more than one of the reasons specified, preference was given in the order in which the reasons are here stated.

The aid given by the mother's parents and by the father of the child is of great importance in lessening the handicap of the mother and in making it possible for her to assume the child's custody and support.

Attention has already been called to the small proportion of the women who had "normal" parental homes. In only 26 of the 174 cases in which a report was obtained were the mother's parents considered proper custodians of the child and able to give assistance, and in some of these cases only one parent was living or there was a step-parent in the home. The parents of 19 mothers were unable to aid, and the parents of 12 were considered unfit to have the care of the child; 117 mothers had no homes to which they could look for assistance, the parents being either dead or in a foreign country.

Support by the father.

Social data concerning the father.—The father's age, nativity, civil status, and character affect his economic condition and therefore his ability to contribute to the support of the child. Although the social data reported were somewhat meager, sufficient information was obtained to indicate the most important facts.

Of the 213 fathers whose ages were known, 1 was a boy of 17 years; 12 per cent were from 18 to 20 years of age; 35 per cent, from 21 to 24; 32 per cent, from 25 to 29; and 20 per cent, 30 years of age or over. Of the last group, 9 were from 40 to 49 years, 1 was 53, and 1 was 65 years of age.

Nativity and race were reported for 224 fathers; 80 were native white, 16 were colored, 114 foreign-born white, and 14 foreign-born colored—mostly from the West Indies. Six of the 19 fathers of unknown nativity were white. The reports show that in many cases

the parents of the child were of different nationalities, and in several cases of different races.

One hundred and eighty-six fathers were single at the time of the child's birth, 41 were married, 3 widowed, 2 separated, and 1 divorced; the marital condition of 10 was not reported.

Information as to character was obtained for only 71 fathers. Of these only 3 were considered to be of good character; 50 were known to have been seriously immoral, including 8 who were also alcoholic and 2 who had been otherwise delinquent; 13 were alcoholic; 2 had been guilty of other delinquencies; and 3 were of otherwise poor character.

Father's occupation.—As has been noted, a large proportion of the mothers were employed as servants or semiskilled workers, and only a few in the higher grade pursuits. The fathers, however, were engaged in a greater variety of occupations, and a larger proportion of them were in occupations requiring skill and training and commanding higher wages. The occupation was reported for all but 25 of the fathers. There were 4 men engaged in professional pursuits; 7 proprietors, officials, and managers; 1 public official; 43 skilled workers—including machinists, carpenters, and others; 23 engaged in clerical occupations; 71 semiskilled workers—including chauffeurs, conductors, motormen, factory operatives, and others; 15 semiofficial public employees—mainly soldiers, sailors, and marines; 33 servants—including elevator men, waiters, and others; 14 laborers; and 7 who had no occupation, 4 of these being still in school.

Father's contribution to support of child.—A large proportion of the fathers who contributed to the support of their children did so at the order of the court. Of the 92 cases in which court action was initiated (see Table II), 1 was pending at the close of the period, and 29 were closed without provision being made for the child. In this latter group 10 of the fathers were found not guilty, 17 were discharged on technicalities, and 2 children had died; nevertheless, 7 of the 29 fathers had contributed in some way to the support of the child. The court ordered provision for the child in 52 cases, continuing contributions being ordered in a total of 45. Six fathers married the mothers, and 4 fathers were living with the mothers as married or were illegally married to them. In 10 cases no report was obtained as to the provision for the child.

In 81 per cent of the 151 cases in which no court action was taken, the father made no contribution to the support of the child; only 5 fathers made continuing contributions. Four fathers made cash settlements ranging from \$30 to \$250. The fathers married the mothers in 8 instances, and 7 fathers were living as married with the mothers or were illegally married to them. It will thus be seen

that, although the most important factor in helping the mother to carry her burden is the extent to which the father assumes responsibility for the support of the child, only 87 of the 243 mothers received any financial assistance from this source, and the amounts paid were in general very meager.

TABLE II.—*Contributions of father, whether voluntary or as a result of court action, by type of support; fathers in selected group: New York City.*

Type of support.	Fathers in selected group—				
	Total.	In whose cases no court action was taken.	In whose cases court action was taken.		
			Provision ordered for child.	No provision ordered for child.	Not reported as to provision.
Total.....	243	151	52	30	10
No support.....	154	123		22	9
Confinement expenses only.....	1	1			
Cash settlement.....	4	14			
Continuing contributions.....	46	4	40	2	
Continuing contributions and cash settlement.....	2		2		
Father married mother.....	12	7	5		
Parents living as married or illegally married.....	12	7	2	3	
Continuing contributions and later married, or living as married.....	4	1	3		
Other contributions.....	7	4		2	1
Case pending.....	1			1	

¹ Including 1 father who contributed \$30; 1, \$50; 1, \$55; 1, \$250.

² Including 2 cases in which court action was initiated after the close of the period of study. The result in 1 case was a court order; 1 was not reported as to result.

³ Including 1 father who contributed \$3; 2, \$5; 1, \$10.

CARE BY SOCIAL AGENCIES.

Although the special type of assistance given by the agency whose cases form the basis of this study was securing places at housework where the mothers could keep the children, it gave other forms of assistance and advice, including reference to agencies doing other types of work and arrangements for special care of mother and child. In the majority of the cases under study it was known that application had not been made to any other agency for help; but in a few instances prolonged care was known to have been given by another agency either before or during the year of the study, and in some cases—mainly those in which the children were unborn at the time of application—the mothers received temporary care from hospitals with social-service departments or from shelters or convalescent homes.

Maternity care.

Over nine-tenths of the children were born in maternity homes or hospitals. A large proportion of the mothers, therefore, had the care of a physician in confinement. In practically all these cases the mother's confinement expenses were paid from public funds.

The periods of care in maternity homes or hospitals varied from a few days before the child's birth and less than a week afterward to from three to six months before and the same length of time afterward. The length of stay was determined not only by the physical condition of the mother and the child, but also by the mother's home conditions and her ability to make the necessary provision for herself during the time when she was unable to work.

Nearly three-fifths of the 179 mothers who received care in maternity homes or hospitals previous to confinement, and for whom the length of care was reported, received such care for two weeks or more. Nearly one-half were under such care for one month or over, more than three-tenths for two months or over, and about one-eighth for at least three months. A much larger proportion of the mothers under 18 years of age than of the older mothers had care for the longer periods.

Of the 229 mothers confined in such institutions, 25 were under care for less than two weeks after the child's birth; 1 of these received care for less than one week. About three-tenths of the mothers remained between two weeks and a month after the child's birth, a somewhat larger number for one month but less than two, about one-tenth for two months but less than three, a somewhat larger number for from three to five months, and 5 mothers for six months or over. Six mothers who were not in a maternity home before confinement were taken to such institutions immediately after the child's birth. Many mothers who remained in the maternity home for more than a month or six weeks after the birth of the child were employed part of the time at housework or in helping to care for other mothers and their babies.

Care of the child.

Age of child.—Only 35, or 14 per cent, of the 247 children were unborn at the time when application was made to the first agency giving prolonged care. Table III shows the age of the child at application to the first agency giving prolonged care and his age at the close of care or the end of the period. Most of the children were quite young when application was made to the first agency giving prolonged care—56 per cent were unborn or less than a month, 78 per cent less than 3 months, and 91 per cent less than 6 months of age.

TABLE III.—*Age of child at time of application to first agency giving prolonged care, by age at close of care or end of period; children in selected group: New York City.*

Age at time of application.	Children in selected group.								
	Total.	Age at close of care or end of period.							
		Under 1 month.	1 month.	2 months.	3-5 months.	6-8 months.	9-11 months.	12-23 months.	Not reported.
Total.....	247	7	7	3	14	79	46	86	5
Unborn.....	35	1	.....	.....	3	10	9	9	3
Under 2 weeks.....	33	4	1	.....	2	13	4	9	.....
2 weeks, under 1 month.....	69	2	4	3	1	25	15	17	2
1 month.....	33	.....	2	.....	1	11	5	14	.....
2 months.....	23	.....	.....	.....	5	9	4	5	.....
3-5 months.....	32	.....	.....	.....	2	10	6	14	.....
6-8 months.....	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	2	4	.....
9-11 months.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	5	.....
12-17 months.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	.....
18-23 months.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....

Separation from the mother.—The primary aim of the agency which furnishes the information included in this study is to afford such assistance and supervision as will enable the mother to support herself while keeping the child with her. However, the nature of the care and supervision given in the cases under study naturally varied greatly according to the ability and willingness of the mother to keep her child. The reason for the separation of the mother from her child is of especial significance in that it throws light upon the reason for the child's dependency and the attitude of the mother toward her child. While some children were cared for away from their mothers because the agency or an interested person found that such an arrangement was necessary for the child's well-being, in a larger number of cases the mother gave up the child because she did not want him, because it was hard to work with the child, or because she could earn more money if she did not keep the baby with her.

Nearly three-fourths of the 226 children for whom information as to separation from the mother was obtained were known to have remained with their mothers the entire time prior to the close of care or the end of the period. In nearly half the 63 cases in which the children were known to have been separated from their mothers, the mothers were contributing toward their support and had some oversight of them. Thirty-nine of the 63 children were in boarding homes; the remainder were in children's institutions or maternity homes, were being boarded in homes or cared for by relatives, or had been adopted.

In 14 instances the mother was judged morally, mentally, or physically unfit to care for the child; in 18 cases she was unwilling, or found it impossible to work and keep the baby with her. Three children were deserted by their mothers, and 6 children had need of special care or were separated from the mother because she had become pregnant. In 22 cases no reason for separation was reported.

Proportion of child's life spent with mother.—Of the 190 children who were at least 6 months of age at the close of care or the end of the period and for whom information as to the proportion of life spent with the mother was obtained, 72 per cent had not been separated from their mothers, and an additional 6 per cent had been with their mothers at least four-fifths of their lives. The proportion of the child's life spent with the mother was as follows:

Total.....	190	40-59 per cent.....	9
		60-79 per cent.....	10
Less than 20 per cent.....	11	80-99 per cent.....	12
20-39 per cent.....	11	100 per cent.....	137

HOUSEWORK AS AN EMPLOYMENT FOR MOTHERS WITH YOUNG CHILDREN.

Since few of the women who applied for help from the agency of the study had the education or training which would fit them for any occupation other than housework, and a very small proportion had homes where the children could be cared for in their absence, domestic service offered the readiest, and frequently the only solution of their twofold problem of obtaining situations where they could support themselves and keep their children with them. About half the mothers were placed by the agency in such situations at some time during the period of the study.

The first employment of the mother following the birth of the child is shown in the following statement, according to whether or not the child was with the mother in her place of employment:

Total	199
Child with mother in place of employment.....	145
Housework in private family.....	105
Wet-nurse in private family.....	14
Housework in institution.....	14
Wet-nurse in institution.....	7
Other	5
Child in care of mother but not with her in place of employment.....	^a 54
Housework in private family.....	17
Wet-nurse in private family.....	1
Day's work in private family.....	5
Nursemaid in private family.....	1
Housework in institution.....	1

^a Including children living with their mothers and children boarded out by them.

Child in care of mother but not with her in place of employment—Con.

Factory or laundry operative.....	18
Saleswoman.....	1
Milliner.....	1
Hairdresser.....	1
Clerical work.....	1
Companion.....	1
Waitress in hotel or restaurant.....	2
Dishwasher in restaurant.....	1
Chambermaid in hotel.....	1
Not reported.....	2

Mother's previous and subsequent employment at housework.

Prior to the birth of the child the mothers of 157 children—about three-fifths of the total number—had been employed at housework. In 93 cases (including 12 of the 13 cases in which the mothers were under 18 years of age) the mothers resumed this work after the birth and kept their children with them. In the remaining 64 cases the mothers did not return to housework, or the children were cared for away from them with relatives, in an institution, or in a boarding or adoptive home.

The mothers of 29 other children, or one-third of the 86 who had not been employed at housework previous to the birth of the child, were placed in domestic service with their children. In 3 of these cases the mothers were under 18 years of age.

Table IV shows the details of the mothers' employment at housework with their children, and whether they were so employed before the birth of the child.

TABLE IV.—*Age of mother at birth of child, by previous employment at housework and presence of child with mother during employment at housework; children in selected group: New York City.*

Age of mother at birth of child, and previous employment at housework.	Children in selected group—		
	Total.	With mother during employment at housework.	Never with mother during employment at housework.
Total.....	247	122	125
Mother under 18 years.....	34	15	19
At housework.....	15	12	3
Not at housework.....	18	3	15
Not reported.....	1	.....	1
Mother 18 years and over.....	213	107	106
At housework.....	142	81	61
Not at housework.....	68	26	42
Not reported.....	3	.....	3

Mother's mentality, physical condition, and character.

Eight mothers placed with their children at housework were known to be mentally diseased or defective, 5 being high-grade

feeble-minded and 3 mentally disordered. Twenty-one of the mothers were known to be suffering from some physical defect; 11 were in poor physical condition, 8 had venereal infection, 1 had tuberculosis, and 1 had epilepsy. Fifty-three of the 122 mothers placed with their children at housework were known to be of otherwise good character; 34 were reported as immoral, 1 was alcoholic and 1 otherwise delinquent, and 7 were wayward or of otherwise poor character. Of the mothers who were immoral, 1 was also otherwise delinquent, 1 was also alcoholic, 3 were in poor physical condition, 3 were suffering from venereal infection, 2 were feeble-minded, and 1 was mentally disordered and epileptic. Information as to character was not reported for 26 mothers.

Age of child when placed and length of time child lived with mother at housework.

It has been pointed out that a large proportion of the mothers applied for assistance when the baby was very young—in nine-tenths of the cases under 6 months of age. The group whose babies were unborn or less than 2 weeks of age at application constituted over one-fourth of the total. The urgency of the need of these women is shown by the fact that situations were found for many of them as soon as they were able to go to work. Table V shows that 7 of the children were less than a month old when placed with the mother at housework, and that 61 per cent were less than 3 months of age. This type of placement continued in 31 per cent of the 121 cases reported on for less than 3 months, in 31 per cent for from 3 to 5 months, and in 38 per cent for 6 months or longer.

TABLE V.—*Length of time spent with mother, by age of child when placed with mother at housework; children in selected group placed with mother during employment at housework: New York City.*

Age of child when placed with mother at housework.	Children in selected group placed with mother during employment at housework.								
	Total.	Length of time spent with mother.							
		Less than 1 month.	1 month.	2 months.	3-5 months.	6-8 months.	9-11 months.	1 year and over.	Not reported.
Total.....	122	16	10	11	37	27	16	4	1
Under 1 month.....	7	1	1	.....	1	2	1	1	.....
1 month.....	38	4	4	3	9	12	6	.....	.....
2 months.....	30	3	2	1	13	3	5	2	1
3-5 months.....	30	4	3	1	9	9	3	1	.....
6-8 months.....	6	1	.....	2	1	1	1	.....	.....
9-11 months.....	4	1	.....	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
12-17 months.....	6	2	.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
18 months and over.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....

Forty-nine of the 122 children, however, were not living with their mothers at housework at the end of the period of study. All but 4 of this group had been less than 6 months of age when so placed. In nearly all the 49 cases the mother ceased to work as a domestic servant. Eight mothers were unable to work and care for the child—1 was pregnant, 1 was mentally unfit, and the others were physically unable; 16 mothers made other arrangements for themselves and their children (9 of them married and took the children into their own homes); 8 mothers were too inefficient to do the work; 9 left their places of employment, and made later arrangements unknown to the agency; 5 mothers were unwilling to work with the baby; 1 mother deserted her baby in her employer's home; and in 2 cases the reasons for the change were not reported.

Number of positions held by mother.

Reference to Table VI will show that the mothers of exactly half the 122 children had only one position at housework during the period of the study, and that over half of these remained in their places of employment for at least three months. The group of 38 mothers who had been in two places with their children did not necessarily indicate failure in adjustment, since in all but 7 of these cases the plan had been in operation for over three months, and a considerable percentage of readjustment was natural under the difficult circumstances. However, 22 mothers had changed their places of employment from two to five times, 5 of them having an average of one or more positions a month; the most striking instance was that of a mother with four places of employment in less than a month. The handicap to the child in this frequent change of environment is obvious.

TABLE VI.—*Number of positions at housework held by mother when accompanied by child, by length of time spent with mother; children in selected group placed with mother during employment at housework: New York City.*

[illegible]

The accompanying analysis of cases includes approximately half the total number coming within each classification. Here are illustrated individually the ages of the mothers when they undertook employment, keeping their children with them or making arrangements for their care; the ages of the children; the wages per week in employment, with the child and otherwise; the length of time the mothers kept the positions; and the reasons for leaving them.

FIRST EMPLOYMENT OF MOTHER AFTER BIRTH OF CHILD.

Child with mother in her place of employment.

Age of mother.	Age of child.	Wages per week.	Time in position.	Reason for leaving.
HOUSEWORK IN PRIVATE FAMILY.				
19	2 months....	\$3.75	12 months....	Ill.
20	3 months....	3.00	4 months....	Left; went to relatives.
17	2 months....	(¹)	10 months....	Married.
19	1 month....	3.00	5 months....	Ill.
28	2 months....	3.00	3 weeks....	Discharged, inefficient; five other situations provided.
28	4 months....	3.75	4 weeks....	Summer position; one other situation provided.
25	2 months....	3.00	4 days....	Discharged, inefficient; four other situations provided.
20	1 month....	3.75	2 months....	Unwilling to work with baby.
19	1 month....	3.00	1 month....	Discharged, inefficient; another agency placed as wet nurse without baby.
16	1 month....	3.00	2 months....	Married.
21	4 months....	3.00	1 month....	Work too hard; one other situation provided.
18	6 months....	4.00	10 months....	Unwilling to work with baby.
17	2 months....	3.75	3 months....	Left; returned to parental home; secured day's work.
19	.....do.....	3.75	1 week....	Returned to parental home; baby dead.
20	3 months....	3.75	1 month....	Left, secured place at housework in private family; baby dead.
23	4 months....	4.00	4 months....	Work too hard; one other situation provided.
26	.....do.....	5.00	.....do.....	Not needed longer; returned to parental home; secured day's work.
29	3 weeks....	3.75	Less 1 day....	Did not like place; two other situations provided.
21	2 months....	4.00	10 months....	Married.
18	1 month....	4.00	3 months....	Discharged, inefficient; secured place at housework in private family and boarded the baby.
21	2 months....	3.00	4 months....	Left; returned to parental home, secured work in factory, and boarded the baby.
23	1 month....	5.00	2 months....	Discharged, alcoholic; two other situations provided.
18	3 months....	3.50	.....do.....	Left; put baby in institution; secured work in factory.
39	2 months....	3.50	1 month....	Discharged, could not work and take care of baby. Sent to institution with baby.
21	.....do.....	3.00	2 days....	Discharged, inefficient; one other situation provided.
27	.....do.....	3.75	1 month....	Later boarded baby—wanted a "good time."
25	.....do.....	3.50	3 months....	Discharged, inefficient; mentally disordered. Both she and the baby sent to institution.
15	3 months....	2.50	2 months....	Discharged, inefficient; two other situations provided.
23	1 year....	3.75	2 weeks....	Found to be mentally disordered.
27	2 months....	3.00	1 day....	Not needed longer; two other situations provided.
22	1 month....	3.00	8 months....	Discharged, unsatisfactory as baby badly spoiled; one other situation provided.
17	3 months....	3.00	2 months....	Discharged, too untidy; two other situations provided; secured one herself.
24	6 weeks....	4.00	5 months....	Discharged, inefficient; four other situations provided.
20	7 weeks....	3.75	4 months....	Discharged, inefficient; two other situations provided.
25	1 month....	4.50	6 months....	"Too lonely"; secured housework in private family.
17	7 weeks....	3.50	4 days....	Did not like place; secured housework in private family.
18	2 months....	4.00	1 month....	Discharged; situation provided.
19	.....do.....	2.50	3 months....	Discharged, inefficient; six other situations provided.
16	3 months....	3.75	9 months....	Wanted to go home; secured work in factory.
17	4 months....	3.00	4 months....	Work too hard; one other situation provided.
25	7 weeks....	6.25	2 months....	Dissatisfied; tried to place baby in institution; one other situation provided.
19	5 weeks....	4.00	2 weeks....	Left in fury; one other situation provided.
				Too hard to work with baby; secured work and boarded baby near her.
				Dissatisfied with wages though inefficient; one other situation provided; secured one herself.

¹ Not reported.

Child with mother in her place of employment—Continued.

Age of mother.	Age of child.	Wages per week.	Time in position.	Reason for leaving.
HOUSEWORK IN HOSPITAL OR INSTITUTION.				
34	7 months....	\$2.50	2 months....	Discharged, alcoholic; disappeared; arrested later and sent to institution.
18	3 months....	4.50	3 months....	Discharged from almshouse; one other situation provided.
17	7 weeks.....	3.00	4 days.....	Discharged, husband (father of child) not wanted as visitor. Went to relatives; secured housework in private family.
25	2 months....	3.00	6 months....	Baby ill; returned to same situation after baby's death.
17	4 weeks.....	4.00	3 months....	Discharged, inefficient; one other situation provided.
16	4 months....	3.00	2 weeks.....	Ill; two other situations provided.
18	5 weeks.....	2.50	6 months....	Needed at home; secured factory work; baby boarding.
22	.....do.....	2.50	1 month.....	Work too hard; two other situations provided.

WET-NURSE IN PRIVATE FAMILY.

23	3 weeks.....	\$5.00	4 months....	No further need; one other situation provided.
21	2 weeks.....	5.00	2 months....	Mother's baby was not gaining; mother had a rest; one other situation provided.
18	6 weeks.....	5.00	.....do.....	Discharged, unsatisfactory; five other situations provided.
21	2 weeks.....	5.00	5 months....	Not enough milk; one other situation provided; secured one herself.
18	1 month.....	5.00	3 days.....	Ill; two other situations provided.
17	7 months....	6.25	3 months....	Left because of attentions of men in the family.

WET-NURSE IN INSTITUTION.

20	3 weeks.....	\$5.00	4 months....	Not needed longer; two other situations provided.
20	.....do.....	5.00	1 month....	Returned to stage; gave baby for adoption.
19	.....do.....	6.25	1 week.....	Discontented; secured work; put baby in day nursery.
29	2 months....	5.00	5 months....	Not needed longer; to be sent to institution and baby to be boarded.
19	3 weeks.....	6.25	7 months....	Not needed longer; one other situation provided.

OTHER EMPLOYMENT.

22	3 weeks.....	\$2.50	5 months....	Discharged; secured similar place; friend cares for baby.
21	5 months....	4.00	6 months....	Did not like place; secured work as child's nurse in private family.
21	1 month.....	3.75	.....do.....	Married.
17	4 weeks.....	4.00	3 months....	Discharged, inefficient; one other situation provided

Child in custody of mother but not with her in place of employment.

HOUSEWORK IN PRIVATE FAMILY.

23	2 months....	(¹)	7 months....	Returned to parental home; baby dead.
30	4 months....	\$3.00	5 months....	Not reported; one other situation provided.
21	2 months....	6.25	13 months..	Married.
23	4 months....	6.25	4 months....	Left, secured factory work; baby boarding.
19	1 month.....	7.00	6 months....	Not reported; secured two other places at housework.

WET-NURSE IN PRIVATE FAMILY.

20	2 months....	\$6.00	8 months....	Left, not reported.
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NURSEMAID.

19	5 weeks.....	\$1.50	4 months....	Dissatisfied; one other situation provided.
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¹ Not reported.

Child in custody of mother but not with her in place of employment—Contd.

Age of mother.	Age of child.	Wages per week.	Time in position.	Reason for leaving.
FACTORY OR LAUNDRY OPERATIVE.				
20	2 months....	\$6.00	1 month....	Unsatisfactory arrangement; went to institution with baby.
18	4 months....	10.00	2 weeks....	Disagreed with employer; two other situations provided; secured one herself.
16	6 weeks....	5.40	4 months....	Ill; secured other factory work when well.
DAY'S WORK.				
39	10 days....	\$7.00	12 months...	Mentally disordered; needs rest and care.
22	1 month....	3.50	5 months....	Left; not reported; one other situation provided; arrested for stealing from employer.
DISHWASHER IN RESTAURANT.				
20	2 months....	\$9.00	3 months....	Baby ill; three other situations provided.
COMPANION.				
24	10 months...	(¹)	2 weeks....	Mentally disordered, probably epileptic; sent to hospital for observation; baby boarding.
HAIRDRESSER.				
22	4 months....	\$6.00	1 month....	Work slack; secured work as manicurist; two other positions secured.

¹ Not reported.

EXAMPLES OF PROBLEMS DEALT WITH.

The following concrete examples of some types of situation with which the agency had to deal illustrate the difficulties:

Lack of social life, and constant repression at home, were responsible for the separation of a girl of 18 from her home. Her mother had died when she was 7 years old, and an aunt who raised the three children had later married the girl's father. The home was described as of high type, clean, and comfortable, but the girl had to go elsewhere to have a good time. Several years before the period of the study she ran away with a "race-track gambler" whom she believed to be divorced from his wife. Her father and stepmother followed them to another city in the State and took her home. Later she ran away with another married man, who became the father of her child. For several months after she became pregnant she worked as a clerk in Boston, where the couple had gone prior to the man's desertion and apprehension by the detectives. Leaving Boston, she went to Cleveland for a short time before she returned to New York. Since she was not able to support both herself and the child, and her father would not let her bring the child home, she applied to the agency for a place to board the child.

One girl had come from Europe to New York City 10 years before the period of this study to join her mother, who had arrived the year before. The father had died when the girl was 4 years old. Although she was an only child she

did not get along well with her mother, who was thought to be immoral. She lived for several years in an orphanage and the rest of the time with her aunts. When she was 17 years old she became intimate with a boarder in her aunt's home—a man considerably older than herself and divorced from his wife. They became engaged, plans were made for the wedding, and the license was secured; but on the persuasion of the man the girl went to live with him without marriage and in a short time he disappeared. Six months before the child's birth she secured a position at housework, in which she remained for three months. When the child was 6 weeks old she applied to the agency for help in securing a place to work. Several places were obtained for her, but she was not satisfactory and did not remain long in any position. Her employers reported that she was untidy, careless, slow, and unsystematic. She was fond of the child, however, and capable of caring for him under supervision.

The mother of one child was 36 years of age and had been deserted by her husband some years previous to the period of this study. She was foreign born but had come to this country with her parents when quite young. She had kept house for her father until his death. The father of the child was a married man 65 years of age who had retired from business because he was "too old to work." He had had three paralytic strokes, and at the time the record of the case was obtained he was ill in the hospital. The mother was suspected of having epilepsy, and at the close of the period of the study the agency was still trying to persuade her to go to a clinic for an examination. She and the child were living with relatives. Although she seemed to have little idea of her responsibility toward the child, the baby was in excellent condition.

Another foreign-born woman presented quite a different problem. The oldest woman included in the study, she was 42 years of age at the birth of the child. She married in her native country when she was 27, but on the death of her husband a short time afterward returned to her parental home and kept house for her widowed mother. After the death of her mother, she came to this country and lived for five years with one family as a domestic servant, leaving them only a few weeks before the birth of the child. After the child's birth she was in need of convalescent care, but, wishing to go to her sister's home, she refused the offer of the agency to provide for her. She asked, however, for a place to board the baby, and for a while paid something toward the child's support. Later she requested that the child be placed for adoption.

A negro girl who was born in a Southern State had been deserted by her parents when she was a baby, and had been taken care of by one relative after another. She never attended school, but began to work when 9 years old, and was employed at housework in a number of homes. She claimed that she could not remember the places or the dates of her situations, but that in some places she had earned as much as \$7 a week. She was reported to be "a strong woman, but not well trained." At the time of the study she had been in New York for three years, and had two children born out of wedlock about 18 months apart. She had known the father of the second child for several years and had supported him during most of that time, for though he was a porter capable of earning \$20 a week he was intemperate and not a steady worker. After the child's birth the mother spent six days in a maternity home, her care being paid for from public funds. She lived in the home of friends for several months prior to her application to the agency for a place

to work with the baby. Her older child, boarded with a friend, became rachitic, and at the close of the period was being cared for in a hospital. The younger child was boarded for a couple of months, but because of the condition of the older child the mother decided to keep this one with her, and at the close of the year the child was in good condition.

A foreign-born woman 21 years of age became the mother of a child whose father was a negro. Her father had died when she was 3 years of age, and her mother when she was 15. Up to the time of the mother's death she had attended school, but, as one of a large family of children, had to work in the fields during her spare time. Soon after her mother's death she came to America with an older sister, with whom she made her home when she was not living in her place of employment. For seven years she was employed as a domestic servant, and, though found upon examination to be a moron with a mental age of 9 years, she was described by her employers as a very good worker, honest and willing. She claimed that she had been fond of the father of the child until she found that he was a negro, and that when he asked her to marry him after she became pregnant she refused because of his race. Soon after this he had disappeared, and all efforts to locate him were futile. When the baby was 2 weeks old, the mother made application to the agency. Convalescent care was provided, and later a position was secured where she could keep the baby with her. At the last report the mother was doing well and the child was in good condition.

ILLEGITIMACY IN EIGHTEEN COUNTIES OF NEW YORK STATE.

BY H. IDA CURRY.¹

SCOPE OF STUDY.

In approaching a study of illegitimacy in New York State, with special emphasis on rural problems, it was necessary to limit the territory to such counties as had some social organization the character of which would bring its workers in touch with the unmarried mother and her infant. Eighteen counties were selected in which were employed agents for dependent children, whose territory was county-wide and whose duties were to assist the poor-law officials in caring for children in need of public support or public protection.

The agents in the 18 counties selected for study secured schedules covering 125 cases² of illegitimacy which came to their attention during the 12-month period from October 1, 1916, to September 30, 1917. Only cases in which the children were less than 1 year of age at the beginning and at least 6 months of age at the end of that period were included.³

In 16 of the counties contributing to the study the agents were employed by county committees of the New York State Charities Aid Association, cooperating with the local officials; in 1, the agency was directed by the county superintendent of the poor; and in Westchester County the department of child welfare of the office of the county commissioner of charities and correction was a well-organized public office, private funds, however, paying for additional agents and otherwise assisting in the work. The combined population of the 18 counties in 1915 was 1,530,680.

With the exception of some nursing service which, in most instances, covered only a city within the county, the agency for dependent children usually represented the only organized county-wide social work in the counties studied. In six counties there were charity organization societies, whose territories were limited in each

¹ Superintendent, County Agencies for Dependent Children, New York State Charities Aid Association.

² These 125 cases included 5 children who died within 24 hours after birth. All cases in which the child was under care less than a day have been excluded in other parts of this report.

³ Those who would have been 6 months of age or over if they had lived were included.

case to a single city. In about half the counties there were county probation officers, who dealt but little with the problem under consideration.

NURSING AND MEDICAL CARE, AND HOSPITAL FACILITIES AVAILABLE.

In part of the territory included in the study public-health or visiting nurses were employed, sometimes at public, sometimes at private expense; but only in Westchester and Dutchess Counties did the field nursing service extend throughout the county, and in Westchester County alone did the number of nurses even approach the number required for efficient service.

In a majority of the counties there was only one hospital, usually located in the largest city or village, having but a limited bed capacity, and with no free maternity ward. In the entire territory, with the exception of one county, the only public hospital facilities were to be found at the county homes for the aged—the almshouses. Some of these institutions had small, fairly well equipped hospital wards; in one or two instances they had separate hospital buildings, with trained nurses in charge. Others had wards which were but poorly equipped, and nearly all employed only practical nurses. Generally the physician visited the almshouse hospital from one to three times weekly, but in many of them visits were made only on call. As only almshouse inmates were admitted to these hospitals, maternity care was available in them only to those who first entered the institutions as "poor persons." In Westchester County alone was there a well-equipped public hospital with a resident medical staff.

Methods of providing medical service in the homes of the poor at public expense were not uniform. In some counties, the overseers of the poor could assign any resident physician to call on an indigent sick person, the town or county paying a fee for the visit. In other counties certain physicians were assigned to attend the poor, on small salaries. The service rendered was generally very inadequate.

When in need of confinement care, the well-to-do in the community usually employed the best qualified resident physicians, or entered private hospitals in nearby cities. The poor either depended on any nearby physician who would respond in an emergency, or went to the almshouse for care.

Except in a few cities where there were baby-welfare stations or where visiting nurses were employed, no prenatal work was done. The New York State Department of Health was conducting a continuous campaign in child hygiene, and baby-welfare stations were

being established as rapidly as possible, but up to the time of the study none had been opened in any community of less than 5,000 inhabitants.

There were in the State a number of private maternity hospitals to which unmarried mothers went for confinement, and where the fee usually varied according to the resources of the patient. From some of these the babies were placed for adoption by the hospital authorities. As the New York State Board of Charities was restricted in its supervision of placed-out children to those who were dependent at the time of placement, and as a dependent child was defined as one "dependent on public or private charity," these babies were not protected by State supervision. Some examples of unscrupulous placing-out by such institutions have come to light from time to time. So far as is known, the confinement care given the mothers in these hospitals was adequate, regular physicians being in charge.

There were a few well-equipped homes for girls in the State or in nearby States, which accepted a limited number of pregnant girls. These institutions, as a rule, kept the mother and baby for at least one year, and then endeavored, in suitable cases, to place the mother with her baby where she could be self-supporting. Usually, in taking advantage of the facilities offered by these institutions, the county agents had selected the very young mothers who probably would benefit most by the specialized care and training.

Unmarried women in need of maternity care or of other assistance, or who desired to give their babies in adoption, naturally came for advice to the county agents for dependent children.

LAWS FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE CHILD BORN OUT OF WEDLOCK.

The responsibility of the father is recognized by the New York law, but on the very unsatisfactory basis of the possibility of the child's becoming a public dependent. The first "bastardy" law in New York was passed in 1788, and while it has been amended and added to, it remains the same in its general provisions, with one notable exception. In the early days a nonresident woman about to give birth to a "bastard" child was not assured of support in the place where she happened to be; at the present time, an adjustment as to payment for such support is made between the poor-law officials of the two neighborhoods.

A most interesting little volume originally published in 1806, entitled "*Lucinda, or the Mountain Mourner*," recites in great detail the proceedings by two magistrates to determine whether a

child about to be born was likely to become a dependent. Lucinda, when betrayed, had returned from a distant community to the home of her father and stepmother. Her stepmother, in a series of letters to a sister, tells the story.

The ordinary attitude of the world toward this age-old problem is shown by one of the magistrates to have been the same then as now. In a foreword to a second edition of this unique little volume, written in 1810, he refers to the girl as "Lucinda, of whose character we knew nothing, our conjecture being unfavorable merely from her situation."

The girl being with child, the two magistrates were compelled to determine the circumstances. Either security must be given to indemnify the town from expense, or Lucinda must immediately be sent back to the place of her legal settlement. "Does the rigor of the law know no mercy?" was the final plea by one whom the magistrate describes as "the brightest ornament of a mother-in-law [stepmother] of anything of the kind we have ever seen in print." The plea was not in vain, and Lucinda was left to the care of her stepmother and her impecunious father.

Under the present law, on application of an overseer of the poor, two justices can inquire into the circumstances of any case of a child born or likely to be born out of wedlock, and can compel support from the putative father. Most frequently the main purpose of the proceedings is to establish legal settlement rather than to secure justice for the mother and child. Money collected through a magistrate's order may be paid to the mother either in a lump sum, if the mother can give bond that the child will not become dependent upon the community, or in monthly installments, as the justices may determine. By an amendment added in 1896 the poor-law officer can compromise with the putative father on any sum which may be determined between them, such compromise discharging the putative father of all further liability. This provision often leads to a compromise on a merely nominal sum, after which nothing can be done toward securing more adequate support for the mother or for the child.

THE CHILD'S PARENTS.

It is difficult to make generalizations from a study of 125 schedules, on a large number of which some information was lacking. It seems quite clear, however, that a very wide range of factors led to the situations which resulted in the birth of the children of the study. Some of the mothers were young women of good character, led astray through devotion to and trust in one man. Some were mentally defective and therefore lacking in self-control; some, while mentally normal, had been sex offenders from an early age; and some had become sex offenders when no longer young. Numerous examples of

social degeneracy are noted where the girls were the victims or the willing partners in unnatural relationships.

The fact that almost half of these illegitimate births occurred to girls under 21 (legal minors), one-fourth being to girls under 18 (the legal age of consent), indicates strongly the wisdom of the State's extending the protection and care of the juvenile court beyond the present age limit of 16. A girl considered incapable of determining the wisdom of giving herself in marriage surely should be subject to control in all matters relating to behavior, and protection of the persons of minors should be recognized as of equal importance with protection of their property.

Nativity of mother and of father.

Ninety-six, or 80 per cent, of the mothers whose nativity was reported were native white (64 of this number were natives of New York State); 15, or 12.5 per cent, were foreign born; and 9, or 7.5 per cent, were negroes born in the United States. In 31, or 25 per cent, of the cases the paternity of the child was not determinable, on account of promiscuity on the part of the mother; in an additional 41 cases, or 33 per cent, the agents could obtain no data concerning the man. In 80 of the 94 cases of determinable paternity—85 per cent—the father was known to be native white; in 11 cases—12 per cent—the father was foreign born; and in 3 cases—3 per cent—he was colored.

Age of mother and of father.

Nine per cent of the girls were under 16 years of age at the time of the birth of the child, the age to which the State of New York by law extends its authority and protective care as the "ultimate parent" of its children; 24 per cent were under 18, the age of consent in the State; 48 per cent were under 21 years of age—not capable, by law, of handling their own property; 36 per cent were 21 to 29 years of age, inclusive; and 16 per cent were 30 years of age and over.

Of the 53 men for whom information on this point was obtained, 10 were from 16 to 20 years of age, inclusive; 10 were from 21 to 24; 11 were from 25 to 29; 7 were from 30 to 39; 7 were from 40 to 49; 6 were between the ages of 50 and 70; and 2 were 70 years of age or over.

Mother's residence and her whereabouts at application.

One hundred and thirteen mothers were residents of New York State, and 4 were residents of other States; the residence of 7 mothers was not reported, and 1 mother had died before application was made for the care of the child. Of the mothers residing in New York State, 45 per cent were living in cities, and 55 per cent in rural sections.

At the time of application 52 per cent of the mothers were living in their own homes, 10 per cent were boarding, 14 per cent were in almshouses or hospitals, 12 per cent were living in their places of employment, and 8 per cent were with friends or relatives; 2 mothers were inmates of public institutions, 1 was homeless, 1 had died, and the whereabouts of 4 was not reported.

Mother's home conditions and early training.

Status of parents.—The mother's parents were living together in 44 per cent of the 102 cases in which the circumstances were known; they were separated in 13 per cent of the cases, one parent was dead in 30 per cent, both were dead in 5 per cent, and the parents were not in the United States in 8 per cent of the cases. It is interesting to note that 13 of the 125 mothers were themselves of illegitimate birth.

Character and mentality of parents.—Some idea as to the type of the parental home and the influences surrounding the girls in these homes is conveyed by the character of the parents. Information as to the character of the mother's parents was obtained in 104 cases, or about five-sixths of the total; the parents were reported as of good character in 35 per cent of these cases; one or both parents were alcoholic in 22 per cent, immoral in 8 per cent, alcoholic and immoral in 4 per cent, and of otherwise poor character in 31 per cent. In 90 of the 102 cases in which information as to the mentality of the mother's parents was secured, both parents were reported as of normal mentality; in 6 cases one parent was feeble-minded; and in 6, one parent was insane.

Age at leaving home and reason for leaving.—Of the 111 mothers for whom such information was obtained, 60, or 54 per cent, were known to have left their parental homes before the birth of the child; 46 per cent were still in the homes of their parents. The percentage of mothers who remained in their parental homes was very much larger among these mothers than among the mothers in the cities where studies were made. Of the 56 who left their parental homes prior to the birth of the child and whose age at the time of leaving was reported, nearly one-half—27—were separated from their families before they were 14 years of age, and four-fifths—45—had left before they were 18; of the one-fifth who were over 18 years of age when they left home, only 1 was over 21. Thirty-nine left in order to secure employment, 8 because of the death of a parent, 7 were placed in institutions for care, and 6 left to enter into marital relations with or without legal formality.

Age at leaving school and grade attained.—The age at leaving school was obtained for only 73, or 58 per cent, of the mothers included in this study. The information obtained shows that of these

4 had no schooling, 3 left school under the age of 12 years, 8 left at the age of 12 or 13, 19 at 14, 35 at from 15 to 17, and only 4 remained in school until the age of 18. Including the 4 who had no schooling, there were 15, or 21 per cent of those reported; who had left school before reaching the age of 14 years. It is impossible to state whether or not some of these girls were 14 years of age before they came to the United States, or had lived at too great distances from school to come within the compulsory-attendance law.

Of the 68 cases in which the grade attained was reported, 4 had had no schooling, 12 left before they reached the fifth grade, 7 were in the fifth grade, 26 were in the sixth or the seventh grade, 10 were in the eighth grade, 8 girls had one, two, or three years in the high school or other secondary school, and 1 had gone beyond the third year of high school.

Age at beginning work.—The age at beginning work was ascertained for slightly more than half the mothers included in this study. Of those whose ages were known, 8 began work before they were 14 years old, 23 at the age of 14 or 15, 15 when 16 or 17, and 8 not until they were over 18. Only 12 of the girls were known never to have worked for wages, 8 of them being still in school when they became pregnant.

Occupation and earnings of the mother previous to birth of child.

The occupation of the mother before the birth of the child was reported for 102 of the 125 mothers. Twenty-six of these mothers were not engaged in a gainful occupation; of this number 8 were in school, 14 were working at home as housewives, and 4 had no occupation. Thirty-two were gainfully employed at housework outside their own homes, and 5 others were employed at day's work in private homes; 26 were employed in factories; 3 were gainfully employed at home; and the remaining 10 included 2 teachers, 1 nurse, 1 stenographer, 4 working in hotels or restaurants, 1 telephone operator, and 1 employed in a store.

The earnings of the mother were reported for only 56 of the 76 who were known to have been gainfully employed prior to the birth of the child. Twenty-one of these women earned less than \$5 a week, 27 earned from \$5 to \$8, and 8 earned over \$8 a week. No conclusions can be drawn from these figures, however, as in numerous instances the wages were supplemented by board and lodging for those in domestic service, or by meals for those holding positions in hotels or restaurants.

The record of wages after the birth of the child is more incomplete, as in many instances the period of the study closed before the mothers secured or were fit for settled employment. In domestic situations

where mother and child were kept together and were living in the place of employment, the wages varied from \$1.25 a week for a mother with two children, to \$4 a week for a mother with one child.

Occupation and earnings of father.

The employments of the fathers of these children born out of wedlock represented a wide range of occupations. Of the 85 whose occupations were reported, laborers composed the largest single group—17, or 20 per cent; next in size was the group of 13 mill or factory workers, or 15 per cent; then 7 farmers, or 8 per cent. The occupations of the remaining 48 included those of bartender, liveryman, driver, baker, mason, painter, plumber, mechanic, lineman, mail carrier, railroad employee, clerk, bootblack, waiter, houseman, contractor, soldier, special policeman, commercial traveler, mill superintendent, brickyard superintendent, foreman in quarry, and manager of moving-picture house.

The earnings of these men were known in only 33, or one-fourth, of the cases. Four fathers earned between \$5 and \$9 a week, 16 earned from \$10 to \$14, 9 between \$15 and \$19, and 4 between \$20 and \$29 a week.

Marital condition of mother and of father.

A large majority of the mothers—77 per cent—were single at the time of the birth of the child, 3 per cent were married and living with their husbands, 7 per cent were widowed, 12 per cent were separated or deserted, and one was divorced. On the other hand, of the 81 fathers whose marital condition was reported only 58 per cent were single; 36 per cent were married, and 6 per cent were widowers.

Of the 15 mothers—12 per cent of all—who married subsequent to the birth of the child, 5 married the fathers of their babies, 9 married other men, and in 1 case it was not known whether the man was or was not the father of the child. Six of the marriages occurred before, and 9 after, the time of application.

Physical and mental condition of mother.

Two mothers had seriously defective vision, and two were deformed. A report on the physical condition of the mother at the time of application was obtained from a physician's examination in but 42, or one-third, of the cases; 20 mothers were reported to be in good physical condition, 14 in poor general condition, 1 was diagnosed as tubercular, 1 as epileptic, and 6 as having venereal infection.

Although only one-third of the mothers had physical examinations, an even smaller proportion had mental examinations. Of the 25 who were examined, 3 were pronounced normal, 1 retarded, 8 subnormal, and 8 feeble-minded, 3 insane, 1 above the average mentally,

and in 1 case there was no diagnosis. Too much significance should not be attached to the large proportion of feeble-minded among the mothers examined, since examinations were not usually arranged except for mothers noticeably below normal in some particular.

To the 17 mothers pronounced below normal after examination might be added the 9 who in the opinion of the agents were obviously feeble-minded, though no mental examination was given. Thus probable mental deficiency was indicated in 26, or 21 per cent, of the mothers, exclusive of the 3, or 2 per cent, who were insane.

Character of mother and of father.

Forty-six, or 38 per cent, of the 122 mothers for whom there was information were of good character; 39, or 32 per cent, were sex offenders, alcoholic, or otherwise delinquent; and 37, or 30 per cent, were known to be of otherwise poor character. Five mothers were known to be prostitutes.

In 31 cases the paternity of the child was not known, and in 18 others no report was made as to the character of the father. Of the 76 fathers concerning whose character information was obtained, 22 bore a good and 27 a poor general reputation. In the remaining 27 cases the men were known to be alcoholic, sex offenders, or both, to have other serious delinquencies, or to have absconded in order to escape their responsibilities.

Other children.

Among the mothers studied 28, or 22 per cent, had previously given birth to one or more children of illegitimate birth. Hence it was in only 78 per cent of the 125 cases that the present study had to do with the first baby born out of wedlock. Considering the 28 cases in which there had been a previous child of illegitimate birth, the first such child was born to one of the mothers when she was 16 years of age, to 9 mothers when they were from 18 to 20, to 3 mothers when they were from 21 to 24, and to 4 after they had reached the age of 25; for the 11 other mothers the age was not reported. In 19 of the cases there had been but one other child of illegitimate birth; in 4 there had been 2; and in 1 instance each there had been 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 other such children. In 4 of the 28 cases the paternity of the previous child was the same as that of the child of the study; in 22 instances different fathers were reported, and in 2 cases the paternity was not reported.

Twenty-two of the 125 mothers had borne children of legitimate birth; the number of such children ranged from 1 to 8. Twenty-one fathers were known to have had children of legitimate birth, though the number of children that each father had had was not determined.

Previous care of mother.

Sixty-six per cent of the mothers had received no institutional or agency care previous to pregnancy; 34 per cent had received public or private charity in some form, having been under the care of child-caring or child-protective agencies, of courts, correctional institutions, hospitals for the tubercular or insane, or other social agencies. Three mothers had been placed in institutions for dependent children or placed out by child-caring agencies when they were under the age of 14 years.

Ability of mother to care for child.

Forty-five per cent of the mothers were reported to be entirely able to care for their babies. Twenty-three per cent were mentally deficient to the extent of being incapable of providing proper care. The others were economically inefficient, morally unfit, or in such poor physical condition as to be incapable. In many cases a combination of circumstances made the mothers incapable. Three mothers were insane, and two died in confinement.

MATERNITY CARE.

Place of confinement.

In 35 per cent of the 125 cases the child's birth occurred in a city within the county from which the case was reported, and in 38 per cent in the rural parts of the county. In 12 per cent of the cases the births occurred in cities in other counties of the State, in 2 per cent in rural parts of other counties, in 2 per cent in State institutions, and in 4 per cent in an almshouse, whether or not in the county in which application was made not being reported. The remaining births—7 per cent—occurred in other States of the United States.

Sixty-two, or half, of the mothers were confined in hospitals, maternity homes, or public institutions; 12 in almshouses, 41 in hospitals, 5 in maternity homes, and 4 in State institutions to which they had been sent. Sixty-one mothers were confined in private homes—48 in their own homes, 11 in the homes of relatives, and 2 in their places of employment. For 2 mothers the place of confinement was not reported.

Prenatal care.

About half the mothers were reported to have received some prenatal advice. Little real prenatal care was received by any of the mothers except those who entered hospitals or maternity homes some time prior to confinement. Of the 61 reported as having received care, 28 received the advice of physicians and 30 had some prenatal care in a hospital or maternity home, while 1 each had advice from a midwife, from a nurse, and at a clinic. Of the 51

mothers cared for in institutions for whom the length of stay therein was reported, 19 were received less than a week before confinement, 9 from one to four weeks before, 14 from one to two months before, and 8 from three to five months before, and 1 was received more than six months before her confinement.

Confinement care and payment of confinement expenses.

Information concerning care at confinement was obtained in 112, or 90 per cent, of the cases. Physicians were in attendance in 103 of these cases, 4 mothers were attended by midwives, and 5 were known to have had no professional care.

Of the 90 instances in which data were obtained, public charity paid the expenses of confinement in 37, or 41 per cent; private charity (private hospitals) in 7, or 8 per cent; the mother herself met the expenses in 18, or 20 per cent; the father of the child in 10, or 11 per cent; and in the other 18, or 20 per cent of the cases, the expenses were paid by other individuals, including relatives of the mother or of the father in 16 instances, the husband of the mother in 1 and in another the father of a former child out of wedlock, though in both cases other paternity had been determined.

Aftercare.

In 2 cases the mother was discharged from the hospital in less than two weeks after confinement; in 1 instance she left, against advice, in four days. Of the 49 women whose stay in maternity homes or hospitals was reported, 32 were discharged before the end of the first month, 6 stayed from one to two months, 4 from three to five months, and 7 stayed over six months after confinement. All the patients who stayed over six months were in maternity homes, almshouses, or State institutions. Three of the mothers had not been discharged at the close of the year.

CARE OF THE CHILD.

Deaths of children within period of study.

Twelve of the 125 babies died during the period of the study. Eight of the 12 were born in the homes of relatives, 2 in hospitals, and 2 in almshouses. All the 5 babies who lived less than one day were born in the homes of relatives, the mother in each case being attended by a physician during confinement; 2 of this number were born prematurely. One baby born in a maternity hospital and separated from the mother when 2 days old was placed in an institution and died at the age of 7 days. One child born in an almshouse and removed from the mother when $2\frac{1}{2}$ weeks old was placed in an institution and died of broncho-pneumonia at

the age of 6 weeks. Of the other 5 who died, 2 were born in institutions which provided medical attendance at birth and 3 were born in the homes of relatives—2 with and 1 without a physician in attendance. Four of the 5 children who died between 4 and 11 months of age were with the mother from birth to death. One of these, a marasmic baby, was sent with his mother to a maternity home immediately after birth—he died when 4 months old; 1 who was seriously ill from birth died when 10 months old; 1 died apparently from starvation when $4\frac{1}{2}$ months old; and 1 died from typhoid-pneumonia when 10 months old. The fifth child, who was in poor physical condition, remained in the almshouse with the mother for four months, was then placed in a hospital, and died there when 5 months old. Two of the mothers of the babies who died were 16 years of age, 3 were 17, 2 were 18, 2 were 21, 1 was 26, 1 was 28, and 1 was 38 years old.

Physical condition of children.

Information in regard to physical condition was obtained for 97 babies. Of these, 64, or two-thirds, were in good condition. Thirty-three were in general poor condition, or were suffering from specific ailments such as venereal disease (4 cases), ophthalmia neonatorum (2 cases), rachitis or marasmus (6 cases), and rupture or deformity (3 cases).

Source of, and reason for, application for care.

Twenty-eight per cent of the mothers were directed to the county agents by public officials; 17 per cent applied directly; 18 per cent were directed by private agencies, including hospitals; 21 per cent were directed by private individuals other than relatives; 11 per cent were brought to the agents by relatives; in 2 per cent of the cases the father of the child made application; and in 4 per cent the source of application was not reported.

Twenty-nine mothers desired maternity care; 25, a free home or permanent institutional care for the baby; in 21 instances assistance was asked because the mothers were physically, mentally, or morally unfit to care for the infants; in 33 instances the mother was in need of temporary relief; 6 mothers wanted a place to board the baby, 6 wanted help in the prosecution of the father, 4 came for advice, and 1 because the relatives' home in which she was staying was unfit.

Of the 125 mothers, 36 per cent came to the agents before the birth of the baby, an additional 39 per cent came before the baby was 3 months old, 20 per cent when the baby was from 3 to 8 months of age, and 4 per cent when the baby was 9 months of age or over. No one of the children considered in this study was over 18 months of age at the time when application was made to the agents for care.

Time under care and reason for closing case.

In 22 per cent of the cases for which the length of time under care was reported, the mother and baby remained under supervision for less than one month, in 35 per cent of the cases for from one to five months, and in 43 per cent for six months or over. The detail for the length of time the mothers and their children were under care follows:

Total under care-----	125	6-8 months-----	18
	—	9-11 months-----	7
Less than 1 month-----	26	12-17 months-----	18
1 month-----	10	18-23 months-----	8
2 months-----	11	Time not reported-----	7
3-5 months-----	20		

Fifty-seven per cent of the cases were closed during the year and 43 per cent were pending at the end of the year of the study. A variety of reasons were assigned for the closing of the 71 cases terminated during the year. In 12 cases the child died, in 6 the mother removed from the county and hence from the jurisdiction of the agents, 15 of the babies were placed in free foster homes, institutional care for the mother and the child was secured in 7 instances, 7 mothers married and established homes of their own, and in the remaining 24 cases the responsibility was definitely left with the mother or with relatives (in 1 case the father).

Type of placement of child at close of care.

Of the 59 living children whose cases had been closed, 42 were with the mother at the close of care and 17 had been separated from her. Of the 12 who died, 5 died within 24 hours, 3 had been separated from the mother prior to death, and 4 had remained with the mother until death. In 30 of the 54 cases pending at the end of the period the baby was with the mother, and in 24 cases he was not. Thus, excluding the 5 babies who died within 24 hours after birth, in 76—63 per cent—of all the cases the babies remained with their mothers until death, the close of care, or the end of the period; in 44—37 per cent—the baby and the mother were separated. Of the 72 surviving babies who were with their mothers, 47 were in the home of the mother, her parents, or immediate relatives; 11 were in maternity homes, in State institutions, or in almshouses; 8 were living with the mother in her place of employment; and 6 had left the jurisdiction of the agents, home or place of residence not being reported.

Of the 41 surviving babies separated from their mothers, 17 were in free homes at the close of the period, 13 were in boarding homes, 2 in children's institutions, 5 in hospitals, and 4 with relatives.

Cause of separation from mother.

The county agents were responsible for separating mother and baby in 24, or over half, of the 44 instances in which they did not remain together until death, the close of care, or the end of the period. In 2 instances the baby was removed because of the youth of the mother, who was herself without a proper guardian. In 9 cases the mother required institutional care, either because of her mental condition or because she was delinquent. Three babies were separated because of the physical condition of the mother, 3 because of the physical condition of the child (1 baby died after the separation), 2 mothers were considered improper guardians, and 5 were found after court hearing to be incapable of giving proper care to the baby.

Three of the 20 separations for which the county agents were not responsible were caused by the death of the mother; 5 of the babies (of whom 2 died within two weeks after separation) were "put away"—1 by the mother, 1 by the grandmother, and 3 by the doctor; in 4 cases the mother deserted the child, and in 8 the mother herself placed the baby at board.

The age of the 44 babies at the time of the first separation varied from 1 day to over 1 year. Fourteen were under 1 month of age, 17 from 1 to 6 months, 7 from 7 to 12 months, 2 were over 12 months, and the ages of 4 were not reported.

CONCLUSIONS.

The services rendered through the office of the county agents to the mothers and children included in the present study were varied in character, and included prenatal advice or care, arrangement for institutional care for the feeble-minded and for the commitment of the delinquent to institutions, hospital or other expert care for the mother or baby or for both, locating relatives able to help, arranging boarding care for mother and child pending a solution of difficulties, locating and securing support from the father, persuading the mothers or relatives to care for a baby whom they insisted upon giving away, and protecting the very young mother, in some cases removing her from the custody of unfit parents by court action. The circumstances of each mother and baby require careful consideration. The preservation of the character of the mother and the welfare of both mother and child should determine action.

Better medical and nursing care—which would make sufficient provision for prenatal advice, confinement care, and aftercare—should be made available to rural mothers, both married and unmarried. County-wide nursing service and baby-welfare stations, available not only to cities but also to rural communities, are needed.

If each rural community could have an experienced social worker and an experienced public-welfare nurse, the moral, social, and health problems of the neighborhood, including those of the unmarried mother and her baby, might in time receive due attention, as the conscience of the community became quickened through their efforts.

EXAMPLES OF PROBLEMS DEALT WITH.

Low standards and the absence of social resources in rural communities are illustrated by the story of a 16-year-old girl who became the mother of a healthy baby girl. In its essentials this story can be duplicated over and over again in the experience of rural social workers. The father of the girl was a common laborer, very ignorant. The family was one of low moral standards, and the home was dirty and unattractive. Besides the parents there were in the home three other daughters and the illegitimate son of one of the sisters, who at the time of the study was married to a man not the father of the boy. The mother of the child of the study was obliged to leave school on account of her pregnancy. She had never worked for wages, except for a short time during the summer before the baby was born, when she helped a farmer's family for a few weeks. Neither the girl nor her family had ever asked for help from any agency. Her condition was brought to the attention of the agent by a police officer and also by a private citizen, both of whom thought that the family, not having lived long in the village, would be glad to have the agent's assistance. When the agent visited the girl she found that the baby had been born the day before. The doctor had been sent for, but had not arrived until after the birth. The mother and the grandmother insisted that the doctor did not look at either the mother or the child and that he put no drops in the baby's eyes, which at the time of the agent's visit were full of pus. The agent volunteered her services in getting support from the father of the child, but found the family very reticent. Two young men of the village were named as possible fathers of the child. When the agent suggested court action the mother and daughter refused to talk further, saying that they would sign no affidavit. The agent visited the doctor in the case, and he stated that he had put drops in the child's eyes. He again visited the family, however, and this time definitely administered the treatment. No visiting nurse being available, a county tuberculosis nurse at the request of the agent visited the family and offered advice as to the care of the mother and the baby.

With the cooperation of a neighbor the confidence of the girl was obtained, and she finally confessed that the father of her child was the husband of her oldest sister. The district attorney was consulted, but he decided that the evidence was not sufficient to warrant his proceeding with the case. During the course of the investigation the girl was married to one of the young men whom she had accused of being the father of the baby, and the mother and child were taken to the home of the man's mother. Shortly after, the young couple, with the baby, moved out of the county. The baby died when 6 months old, and the body was brought back to the place of former residence for burial. The emaciated body indicated starvation. As the baby had died without medical attendance, the undertaker obtained a death certificate from the coroner of the county in which the child died, though the coroner had never seen the child. No record of the death is to be found in the county in which the death occurred, in the county in which the burial took place, or in the New York State Department of Health.

The saddest of all cases are those resulting from incest. A child of 15, whose mother had died four years previously, was mothering four younger brothers. The family bore a good reputation, though the father drank. The father was strict with the children, exacting absolute obedience from them. The girl had no idea of her condition, nor did she realize that her relationship with her father was unusual, until the physician talked to her after an examination. The county agent provided prenatal care for the child and took charge of her little brothers. She also assisted in the prosecution of the father, who was sent to the State prison for a term of years. On discharge from the hospital the girl was sent to responsible relatives, and the baby was placed in a boarding home pending placement in a free home.

A Polish girl of 20 was "keeping company" with a fellow-countryman of 25. This man, who worked in a mill and earned good wages, lived with his parents in a comfortable home and bore a good reputation. The girl had come to America to the home of her sister at the age of 15 and had at once gone to work in a mill. She earned \$10 a week and was known among the better-class Polish people as a quiet, good girl. The little manufacturing city provided no public park or playground, and no organized community recreational facilities. There were the "movies," however, and, accessible by trolley, a public recreation and picnic park where much mischief originated. The girl trusted the man and expected to marry him, but when he learned that she was pregnant he left the neighborhood and did not return. The young mother was confined at the boarding house, with a midwife in attendance. The baby was breast fed until the mother returned to the mill, and then she nursed him night and morning. When the baby was six months old the mother first asked for assistance because she herself was sick. She and the baby were at first boarded together; then the mother had pneumonia and was sent to a hospital, the baby being kept in a boarding home. When she was discharged from the hospital, she and the baby were again together in a boarding home. Not regaining her strength, the mother was sent to a tuberculosis preventorium, and the baby, now 16 months old, was placed in an institution. In a little over a month, the mother had greatly improved and the baby was returned to her, the hospital arranging to keep her as an employee. Four months afterward, when the baby was 21 months old, the mother married a respectable man—not the father of the child.

A married woman of 32 left her husband and took her four children to a nearby county to keep house for a man who had formerly boarded with her. This man had quarreled with his wife, who had left him and their four children. These children soon left home, but he continued to support his former landlady and her four children. He was a steady, sober man who worked regularly as a foreman in a quarry, making \$17 a week. He spent his evenings at home, though the house was dirty and unattractive. In time the baby included in this study was born. A physician attended at the birth in the home of the couple. The baby was breast fed for one year, and was a fine, healthy child. This "reconstructed" family was accepted in the neighborhood as being nothing remarkable, and no criticism of the irregular relationship was apparent. Both adults were of old American stock. The man was apparently of normal mentality; the woman was of low intelligence.

The neglect of a 5-months-old baby was reported to a county agent, who found him to be the offspring of a girl of 20 and her foster father, a man of 49. This man and his wife had taken the girl into their home as a child and she

had grown up as their own. The man was shiftless and unreliable, though his wife was an excellent woman. They had a grown son who was living in a comfortable home in another State. A year before the child's birth the man and his foster daughter had run away together, taking with them the man's 80-year-old father. This group had gone as far west as California and Oregon, but they had drifted back to New York before the birth of the baby and at the time of the study were living in a miserable home. The young mother was irresponsible, and a poor housekeeper, with no judgment about money matters. The agent tried to secure court action against the man, but nothing was done, because the wife was in another State. In a short time this strange family group moved from the county to parts unknown. The baby was then but 7 months old, and the mother was again pregnant.

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RESULTS OF MINNESOTA'S LAWS FOR PROTECTION OF CHILDREN BORN OUT OF WEDLOCK.

MILDRED DENNETT MUDGETT.

INTRODUCTION.

Minnesota's illegitimacy legislation has attracted wide attention because it represents a comprehensive state-wide program for dealing with a social problem that is as old as civilization itself. The Minnesota law embodies the latest developments of social philosophy on the problem up to the time when it was enacted in 1917.

More intensive work for unmarried mothers and their children has been and is being done by private organizations elsewhere, but the experience of this State in the public administration of such work on such an extensive scale is unique and affords an opportunity to judge whether the time has come for further social legislation in this field.

The progress in legal control of illegitimacy has already been described in the publications of the Federal Children's Bureau¹ and in Professor Mangold's monograph "Children born out of wedlock,"² both for the United States and for European countries. Intensive studies of small groups have been made by the Boston Bureau of Social Case Work, and by Kammerer³ and several others. The records of the child-welfare boards in Minnesota, though they do not as yet represent highly efficient case work with individuals, indicate what can be accomplished through a volunteer organization in the education of the general public to a social point of view. Data obtained from a study of these records help to define Minnesota's problem, and it is hoped that they will shed light not only on the working of the law itself but on some of the fundamental causal factors involved in the problem of illegitimacy.

¹ Children's Bureau Publications No. 31, Norwegian Laws Concerning Illegitimate Children; No. 42, Illegitimacy Laws of the United States and Certain Foreign Countries; No. 66, Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem: Part 1; No. 75, Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem: Part 2; No. 77, Standards of Legal Protection for Children Born Out of Wedlock.

² Children Born Out of Wedlock: A Sociological Study of Illegitimacy, with Particular Reference to the United States, by George B. Mangold, Ph. D. University of Missouri Studies, Vol. III, No. 3.

³ Kammerer, Percy Gamble: The Unmarried Mother; a Study of Five Hundred Cases. Introduction by Dr. William Healy. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1918.

The following are illustrations of questions that have arisen in the minds of many interested persons and for which answers are sought in this study:

What are the strong features of the act?

What are the chief obstacles to enforcement of the law?

In what proportion of the cases is paternity officially established?

Are the adjudged fathers really paying for the support of the children?

Have extradition proceedings been successful?

How does the operation of the law insure justice to the man when more than one man has been involved?

Has there been an increase in forced marriages?

What proportion of the girls are found to be feeble-minded?

What proportion of the girls come from rural communities, and in what proportion of cases does conception take place in the country?

How do racial, national, or traditional attitudes on sex questions affect the problem?

How can volunteer social workers be trained and supervised so that their work will be really constructive?

The evidence on which answers to these questions might be based has been secured by a careful study of the records of all unmarried mothers in the State who came to the attention of the Minnesota Children's Bureau in the year 1921. Besides the evidence afforded by the 1,385 case records studied, the author has had the advantage of frequent conferences with the individuals most closely associated with the enforcement of the law, and through attendance at regional conferences of the county child-welfare boards throughout the State she has had opportunity to discuss the problem directly with the members of many of these boards.

The problem of illegitimacy is so closely bound up with all the forces affecting child life that it is fitting that the illegitimacy law should be a part of a larger body of legislation designed to protect all children. The problem has a direct relationship to public health, dependency, mental defect, delinquency (both adult and juvenile), and standards of sex morality.

It is not solved merely by enforcement of the illegitimacy statutes. There must also be protection for all children who are in danger of becoming delinquent. For this purpose community training is necessary, and this is best brought about through the child-welfare boards.

CHAPTER I. ILLEGITIMACY LEGISLATION IN MINNESOTA.

HISTORY.

The Minnesota law to establish the paternity of children born out of wedlock is so closely related to several other laws pertaining to child welfare that it is impossible to evaluate the paternity statute without explaining the supporting legislation and the way in which this whole group of laws came into existence.

Work of child-welfare commission.

Prior to 1917 the child-welfare laws of Minnesota, in common with those of the other States, were haphazard and inadequate. Each of the two preceding legislatures, those of 1913 and 1915, had been petitioned by social workers to appoint a commission for study and revision of the laws then in existence, but had disregarded the request. In August, 1916, the newly formed committee on social legislation persuaded the governor to appoint such a commission. The child-welfare commission did not have time before the convening of the legislature to make a complete codification, in the sense of assembling into orderly sequence all the laws relating to children, although in the case of the juvenile court act its consolidation of several laws practically amounted to codification. The work of the commission resulted in the formulation of 41 bills which were presented at the 1917 session of the legislature. The legislators enacted 35 of the proposed measures, which thus became effective January 1, 1918.

Of these 35 laws those covering the supervision of maternity hospitals and children's homes, the adoption laws, the statutes concerning such sex offenses as abortion, assault, and carnal knowledge, the vital statistics law, and the law regarding penalties for the abandonment of minor children may be considered as supporting illegitimacy legislation. Lacking control of the usual channels through which illegitimate children disappear, the State would find it difficult to carry out its purpose, stated in the illegitimacy statute, "to safeguard the interests of illegitimate children and secure for them the nearest possible approximation to the care, support, and education that they would be entitled to if born of lawful marriage."

The assumption by the State of responsibility for the welfare of illegitimate children has a sound economic basis. Each year in

Minnesota 1,000 or more children are born out of wedlock. Handicapped from the start by being deprived of normal home life, this group in succeeding years adds thousands of individuals to the already heavy burden of dependents maintained by the State. The fact that a remedy has not been sought earlier is doubtless due to the close association of the problem with a double standard of morals and a traditional reluctance to discuss sex problems.

PROVISIONS.

Method of establishing paternity.

The procedure established by the Minnesota law whereby the burden of support for a child born out of wedlock is placed on the father consists of four definite steps: The complaint, the preliminary hearing, the adjudication, and the order for support.

The complaint is made in writing, under oath, by the unmarried mother herself, either before or after confinement, accusing the alleged father of the child. It is made either to a justice of the peace or to a clerk of the municipal court, who then issues a warrant which may be executed anywhere within the State. The complaint is filed and further proceedings are held "either in the county where the woman resides or in the county where the alleged father resides, or in the county where the child is found if it is likely to become a public charge upon such county." This is one of the strong features of the law, because sometimes a girl who would be unwilling to take the necessary steps for the establishment of paternity in the small town where she is well known, can be persuaded to do so if the proceedings can be held in one of the large cities. In many cases a girl illegitimately pregnant is brought into the city for confinement and the complaint is made there either before or after the child is born. Then, since the warrant may be served anywhere in the State, the man can be brought to the city for trial. As a matter of fact this is not often done, because the counties of Hennepin and Ramsey (including Minneapolis and St. Paul) have so many illegitimacy cases of residents to handle that the county attorneys do not like to prosecute cases in which the girl, or perhaps both of the parents, live in another county. If conception took place outside the State and the man has never been in Minnesota legal action can not be taken.

The attitude of one county attorney has been to refuse a warrant to any girl who admits relations with more than one man either six weeks before or six weeks after the probable date of conception. A more just policy is in force in a county where a putative father who declares the girl is promiscuous is required to name all the men he knows to have been implicated. Each one of these men is inter-

viewed by the agent of the child-welfare board. In this way the evidence is sifted so that the county attorney has a better basis for determining whether a complaint should be entered. In the smaller communities especially, the leading people, the officials charged with law enforcement, and sometimes even members of the child-welfare boards, believe that a case should never be brought to court if the girl admits relations with more than one man.

The action to determine paternity is not criminal in substance; it seeks to establish a status, and is therefore civil in its essential purpose. It is criminal in form only because of the peculiar nature of the charge. For this reason the constitutional guaranty of a public trial in criminal cases should not apply. When the warrant has been served and the man is brought into court the justice or the judge examines "under oath the complainant and such other witnesses as may be produced by the parties respecting the complaint." This testimony is put into writing and may be read at the later hearing, which provides against a change of testimony by the girl or the man.

An important section of the act provides for privacy at the preliminary hearing. The judge "may at his discretion, and at the request of either party shall, exclude the general public." The importance of keeping curious auditors out of such a hearing, especially in a small town, can easily be understood. The only trouble is that the law does not go far enough. The general public should be excluded from the jury trial in district court as well as from this preliminary hearing, for the ordeal of testifying in such a case is so severe that few girls will endure it even though they are convinced that the future welfare of the child requires the establishment of paternity. A bill to secure this privacy in the district court hearing was rejected by the 1921 legislature, but many judges are voluntarily clearing the court room in paternity trials.

If the man is unwilling to plead guilty and the evidence indicates his guilt the judge binds him over for district court, the security being not less than \$300 nor more than \$1,000. When a man is unable to give this security he is committed to the county jail to wait until the district court convenes. If the court is in session, arrangement is usually made to have the trial at once. The man is permitted at any time to change his plea to "guilty."

A situation which frequently confronts court officials is that in which a man is willing to pay \$200 or \$300 in order to keep the matter quiet, but is unwilling to acknowledge paternity. The traditional method has been to accept the amount offered, but the Minnesota Children's Bureau has fought this policy from the first. Whenever such agreements have unwittingly been entered into by the girls, after showing the illegality of such settlements the bureau has tried to secure legal ones.

The proceedings in district court may be continued from one session to the next if the girl is unable to appear or for any other sufficient reason, "the recognizance remaining in force until final judgment." At the time of the trial the testimony taken by the justice or the municipal-court judge in the preliminary hearing and at that time put in writing is read to the jury if the defendant so demands. If the jury finds him guilty or if he so pleads he is adjudged the father of the child and thenceforth is "subject to all the obligations for the care, maintenance, and education of such child, and to all the penalties for failure to perform the same, which are or shall be imposed by law upon the father of a legitimate child of like age and capacity." Such wording of the statute permits of liberal interpretation and allows for any improvement which may be made in the laws regarding desertion and nonsupport of legitimate children.

The records of court proceedings are not open to anyone other than the parties concerned except by order of the court.

Procedure for securing support.

As soon as the man is adjudged the father of the child, judgment may be entered against him on behalf of the county for any confinement expenses of the mother or for the support of the child up to the time of the trial, in case these expenses have been borne by the county, and likewise judgment for the costs of prosecution. If the man can not pay these immediately, a stay may be granted by the court on adequate security; if he fails to pay them during the stay, he is committed to the county jail until he pays or is discharged by law.

After he has been in jail for 90 days he may petition for discharge, stating his inability to pay and attaching to his petition "a certified statement of all his property, money, and effects whether exempt from execution or otherwise." At the hearing any of the parties interested may produce evidence as to his ability to pay. If it is proved that the man has no property, the court may as a condition of discharge require him to pay in monthly installments in accordance with his earning capacity. The discharge is not final, and the man may be brought in at a later date if it can be shown that he is then able to pay.

The final step is the order for support, which is made by the judge of the district court before whom the proceedings to establish paternity were held, at the time of adjudication, or later, provided due notice has been given to the State board of control or to the duly appointed guardian of the child. This procedure is in accordance with a change in the statute, enacted in 1921. Originally the settle-

ment was made with the State board of control or the child's guardian. The present method carries more dignity, since the man can be brought in for contempt of court if he fails to pay, and is also a quicker method; but under this method the size of the orders is likely to be influenced by the tradition of small settlements in illegitimacy cases. This drawback is probably overbalanced by the increased cooperation of judges and district attorneys which has been evident since the change.

Naturally, the size of the order is conditioned somewhat by the financial circumstances or earning capacity of the father, but the significant fact about it is that the payments, if monthly, continue until the child is 16 years of age. The amount is usually \$15 per month; it frequently runs as high as \$25 monthly, but never lower than \$10. Sometimes the order is for \$12 or \$15 for the first year or two and then for \$18 or \$20 until the child is 16 years of age. Many of the orders read "until further order of the court," so that if unusual expenses are incurred for the child on account of illness or if the father's financial circumstances improve the order may be increased. The judge may order the man to take out a life-insurance policy (usually for \$1,000) in favor of the child or to deposit a bond in order to insure payments.

The State board of control discourages lump-sum settlements, as they are likely to be for inadequate amounts; if such a settlement is made, \$2,500 is considered the minimum which should be accepted. As much as \$3,000 has been received in several cases, and one settlement was for \$5,000. When the law was first passed, the effect was like the explosion of a bombshell; no one had ever heard of paying \$3,000 for the support of an illegitimate child; but gradually the communities are becoming educated to it and more nearly adequate support is being secured.

Special provisions.

Another point of procedure under the new law which has been contested is the question of guardianship of the child. The traditional procedure was to appoint either the mother or a relative as guardian. This is still possible, but the State board of control advises against it, since in the majority of instances, and particularly in case of a lump-sum settlement, the money may not be spent for the child. The procedure permitted by law and urged by the State board of control is to make the board the guardian of the child, or to order that the money be paid to the local child-welfare board, leaving it to the latter to advise the mother regarding the expenditure. Frequently when an order of \$15 per month is made the child-welfare board persuades the mother to put \$5 each month into a savings account for the later use of the child.

In case the court order is not made at the time of adjudication, the mother may secure from the father her necessary expenses for maintenance for eight weeks before confinement and eight weeks after; if the child was stillborn, the burial expenses; and all doctors' bills for both herself and the child. This provision constitutes a large factor in securing adequate prenatal and confinement care for the mother. If the mother knows she can recover these expenses or the maternity hospitals and homes are reasonably sure of being paid, the chances for proper care of both mother and child are greatly increased. It is also provided by an amendment to the law adopted in 1921 that the expenses of confinement care given to an unmarried mother by a private individual may be included in the support order. This is a remarkably liberal interpretation of the term "support"; it is unusual to find any expenses included in a court order except a specified monthly amount exclusively for the support of the child.

Two or three other possible complications are provided for by the law. Usually it is arranged that the complaint be made by the mother, because if she can not be persuaded to take this step she would very likely prove to be an unwilling witness in the prosecution; but if the girl is ill or lives so far from the county seat that it is impossible for her to take a trip before confinement the law allows a member of the county board or a representative of the State board of control to apply by complaint to have the case considered. In that event the justice or judge of the municipal court may summon the girl and examine her before he issues the warrant. The procedure is the same thereafter except that the complainant may require the girl to serve as a witness. The important consideration involved is that the justice may waive the examination of the girl and issue the warrant immediately if there is danger that the man may leave the State. This is an interesting assertion of the right of the State to act in behalf of the child whether or not the mother is willing to have paternity established.

The final step in the establishment of paternity is the action of the clerk of the district court in notifying the State registrar of vital statistics of the name of the adjudged father and such facts as may be necessary to identify the birth record. If the judgment of paternity is later vacated the State registrar must be notified. A vital statistics law permitting the father's name to be recorded would arouse great opposition if such records were open to the public. Protection of these records is secured by a law which prohibits the disclosure of the records to anyone except the parties concerned or the State board of control, except by order of the district court. A violation of the act constitutes a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of

not more than \$100 or imprisonment in the county jail for not more than 90 days.

The Minnesota law does not permit the child to take the father's surname,¹ as does the North Dakota act, but the benefit derived from the latter action may be questioned. Inasmuch as the child usually lives with his mother, if his surname differs from hers her position is made more conspicuous.

If the parents of an illegitimate child marry after the birth of the child, the child is legitimatized. If the father sends to the State registrar of vital statistics an affidavit stating that he is the father of the child and that he has married the mother of the child, and files with the affidavit a certified copy of the marriage certificate, the establishment of the child's right of inheritance from the father is thereby facilitated. A bill under consideration in the 1923 session of the legislature would permit the child to inherit from his father if paternity had been established. He can inherit from his mother whether she marries or not, but unless the parents marry each other he does not inherit from the kindred of either parent.

Abandonment laws.

Of all the supporting legislation for the illegitimacy statute, the law regarding desertion is perhaps of greatest value. In Minnesota abandonment of any minor child constitutes a felony for which the offender may be punished by five years' imprisonment. Nonsupport is considered only a misdemeanor, but a father found guilty of nonsupport may be required to furnish a bond guaranteeing payment for a period determined by the court, not to exceed five years. These provisions do not apply in the case of the illegitimate child until paternity has been established; but according to a special statute a putative father of an illegitimate child is considered a felon if he leaves the State during the pregnancy of the mother or within 60 days after the birth of the child, provided the child lives, if it is proved that he left "with intent to evade proceedings to establish paternity," since it is this intention to evade proceedings which constitutes the crime. Paternity of an illegitimate child is not a felony, and it is impossible to extradite a man except for a felony. A man found guilty under this statute may be imprisoned for two years.

It is difficult to evaluate this law, because it is impossible to tell how many of the men who are brought to trial might have left the State except for fear of the penalty which it provides. As a matter of fact, it is always difficult to persuade a county attorney to institute proceedings for extradition, unless there is clear evidence that the man in question is the only one with whom the girl has had relations.

¹ A bill to permit the child to take his father's surname if paternity was established was introduced in the 1923 session of the legislature, but failed of passage.

On the other hand, a man would normally prefer to return voluntarily and plead guilty rather than serve a prison sentence. Very often the man can not be located; and if he can, it may be impossible to prove that he left the State for the purpose of escaping prosecution. Another difficulty is that the governor of a State the laws of which do not provide for extradition in illegitimacy cases may refuse to recognize Minnesota's right to bring a man back.

Supervision of maternity hospitals and boarding homes.

The primary purpose of the supervision of maternity hospitals is to insure adequate medical care for the patients, but a secondary purpose of considerable importance is to discover illegitimate children who need the protection of the State. Many such children disappear completely each year through institutions known as "baby farms" or through careless procedure in adoption.

The law defines a maternity hospital as one which within a six-month period receives more than one woman either before confinement or within 10 days after confinement. All maternity hospitals must be licensed by the board of control, and their licenses must be renewed yearly. All births occurring in maternity hospitals must be reported to the board of control, as well as to the State department of health, within 24 hours. In addition the hospitals are instructed to ascertain and report whether the birth is to be illegitimate, in each instance doing so as soon as the woman is received, even if this is some time before confinement. This is an especially valuable provision; the sooner the social worker gets into touch with the unmarried mother the better the chances are for persuading her to keep the child. The law states explicitly that no person shall offer to dispose of the child, as an inducement to the girl to enter a maternity hospital, or advertise that he can place children for adoption. A violation is a misdemeanor and subsequent violation a gross misdemeanor. Moreover, the board of control has made a regulation that all unmarried mothers in maternity hospitals must keep their children for the first three months, and must nurse them unless a physician declares it is impossible. The board has been successful in enforcing this regulation whenever its representative has heard of the case in time. In a few instances physicians have not insisted that the mother nurse the child, even though she was able.

The supervision of dependent children is vested in the department of the State board of control which has the responsibility for unmarried mothers. The law requires the same system of supervision and licensing for children's boarding homes as for maternity hospitals, and defines a boarding home as one where three or more children under 3 years of age are received without a parent or

guardian. The homes are required to ascertain whether a child is legitimate or not, to notify the State board of control immediately when an illegitimate child is received, and to keep a detailed record of all children received or placed.

Supervision of child placing.

The danger of illegitimate children's being brought into Minnesota from neighboring States for placement or adoption is forestalled by the statute regarding supervision of child-placing or child-helping organizations. Before any child is brought into the State for such a purpose the State board of control must be notified and must approve the home in which the child is to be placed. In addition a \$1,000 bond must be filed, to insure the veracity of the statement that the child is not incorrigible or unsound of mind or body and the agreement that he will be removed from the State if he becomes a public charge or a menace to the community before he becomes of age or is adopted. In case a child is removed from the State, except by a parent or guardian, the person taking him out must notify the board of control and must report at least once a year as to the location and well-being of the child until he is 18 years old.

Parental responsibility is specified in no uncertain terms, and no parent can assign his rights or duties to a child under 14 years of age except in adoption proceedings. If it becomes necessary for a parent to place a child temporarily, the person receiving the child must keep an accurate and detailed account of his history until he becomes 18 years old or is adopted.

If an institution places a child in a private home with the idea of providing a permanent home, the State board of control must be notified. The board is required to investigate the home within 90 days of such notice, and to continue to visit the child until he is adopted. If the home is unsuitable the board may order the child's transfer.

Adoption.

When the present adoption laws first became effective there was considerable protest against an investigation of the family history of persons wishing to adopt a child. The right of the State to take such action is based on the principle that "the State is the ultimate guardian of all children who need what they can not provide for themselves and what natural or legal guardians are not providing."² The child is obviously unable to decide whether the home is suitable, therefore determination of this matter becomes the duty of the State.

² Report of Minnesota Child Welfare Commission, 1917, p. 9.

Petitions for adoption are made to the district court of the county in which the petitioner resides and must be signed by his wife if he is married and by the superintendent of the State public school for dependent children if the child is a ward of that institution. As soon as the petition is received by the court the State board of control must be notified. This body then fully investigates the case and makes recommendation to the court. According to the regulation in force no petition is to be granted until the child has been in the home six months, but the district court may waive this regulation. The court may also dispense with the investigation.

In the case of a legitimate child the consent of both parents is necessary to adoption, except when a parent has abandoned a child or is insane or has lost custody of the child through divorce proceedings or an order of a juvenile court. In the case of an illegitimate child the consent of the mother is necessary but not that of the father, unless paternity has been established or acknowledged; in that case the father is served with a notice of the hearing for adoption three weeks in advance. In requiring the consent of an unmarried mother to the adoption of her child the State has recognized and protected her right. The juvenile court act states that an illegitimate child may be considered a dependent child, but the Minnesota Supreme Court has ruled that an illegitimate child may not be taken away from his mother on the ground of dependency alone. As long as a girl keeps herself fit to bring up a child and makes an effort to care for her child, no one has the right to deprive her of him.

The rights of those adopting a child are protected by an interesting provision whereby the adoption may be annulled within five years if the child develops feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, insanity, or venereal infection "as a result of conditions existing prior to his adoption," or had any such defect at the time of adoption without the knowledge of the adopting parents. The State board of control is extremely careful to give adopting parents whatever information it can obtain as to the heredity of the child. The rights of the adopting parents are also protected by a statute making the records of the proceedings confidential between the persons concerned and the State board of control. The information can be given to other persons only by order of court.

It is easily seen that the enforcement of these supporting acts concerning adoption and the supervision of maternity hospitals, boarding homes, and child-placing organizations will in many instances lead to the establishment of paternity. Frequently an unmarried mother is confined in her own home or some private home and no notice of the birth reaches the board of control. If there were no legal regulation of placements and adoption, it would be a fairly

simple matter in such cases for the mother to give the child away in such circumstances that all trace of the child's real history would be lost and chances of dependency would be greatly increased.

Laws regarding sex offenses.

Certain laws relating to abortion and other sex offenses have a very real bearing on the problem of illegitimacy.

It is necessary to define carefully the legal responsibility of the man in a case of attempted abortion. If either the girl or the child dies as a result of abortion, unless it was performed in order to save the life of the girl or child, the person who assisted the girl to produce abortion is guilty of manslaughter in the first degree. Under similar circumstances the woman, unless she is a minor, is guilty of manslaughter in the second degree if the child dies. It is exceedingly difficult in cases of this sort to secure evidence or convictions, but the child-welfare boards are beginning to realize their duty to push such prosecutions. In one instance the girl was unwilling to testify against the doctor because it was impossible to prove that she was a minor.

It has been contended that a law to establish the paternity of illegitimate children will tend to increase abortion, on the ground that the girl will employ any possible means of escape from the necessary court action. As a matter of fact, case records bear evidence that many attempts at abortion have been prevented by securing the girl's early admission to a maternity home and by assuring her of continued interest and assistance.

Criminal charges in illegitimacy cases are usually brought under the statutes covering carnal knowledge rather than under those regarding rape, because it is easier to prove the girl's age than to prove that her resistance was forcibly overcome or that she was threatened with violence or was drugged. The carnal knowledge statute fixes the age of consent as 18 years, but grades the severity of the penalty according to the age of the girl. If she is under 10 years of age the man is imprisoned for life; if she is between 10 and 14 years of age, his sentence is not less than 7 nor more than 30 years; and if she is between the ages of 14 and 18 years, the sentence is not more than 7 years in State prison nor more than 1 year in county jail.

In the administration of this carnal knowledge act, it is interesting to observe, the courts do not wish even to issue a complaint if the girl is rather large and well developed and might easily be supposed to be 18 years of age, although her birth certificate proves she is younger. A strict enforcement of the carnal knowledge statute would, of course, tend to reduce the violation of very young girls and in this way reduce the illegitimacy rate.

The law is further strengthened by the act which makes indecent assault on a girl under 14 years of age a felony regardless of whether she consents.

In 1919 a law was enacted declaring a single act of intercourse with an unmarried woman to be fornication, the penalty for which is three months' imprisonment or a fine of \$100. Prior to this legislation the defendant in a paternity case could usually get several of his friends to swear they had had relations with the girl, and very frequently this testimony would cause his release. Now a man is very careful about admitting relations, since if he does so he may be prosecuted.

CHAPTER II. ADMINISTRATION.

POWERS OF GUARDIANSHIP OF STATE BOARD OF CONTROL.

Under the powers of guardianship given the Minnesota State Board of Control by the acts of 1917, not only dependent but defective, neglected, delinquent, and illegitimate children may be committed to the board by the courts. The board may make whatever disposition seems best for each child, except that it may not place a child who has not been adjudged delinquent in an institution for delinquents, and a child committed to the board as a delinquent may not be adopted. This precludes any danger that the board of control may shirk its responsibilities by placing a dependent child in a correctional institution or by allowing the adoption of a child who because of behavior problems is in need of special treatment.

This guardianship legislation is vitally connected with the problem of illegitimacy. Often the illegitimate child is in need of the guardianship of the State, either because the mother has deserted him or because she is unfit to give him proper care. Frequently the unmarried mother herself is a very young girl with a poor home environment, in which it would be unwise to leave her, but not sufficiently delinquent according to the court's interpretation to be committed to an institution. This statute makes it possible for such a girl to be committed to the board of control and removed from the environment where she has made her mistake. The law may also be used in behalf of younger brothers or sisters of the girl who are already showing delinquent traits with which the parents are unable to cope.

Besides exercising these general powers of guardianship the board is required to assume definite obligations toward illegitimate children. As soon as the board is notified of the birth of such a child or of the pregnancy of an unmarried woman, it is authorized to take measures to safeguard the interests of the child.

The administrative organization which has been established for the exercise of these guardianship powers presents an interesting example of centralized responsibility and decentralized administration. The State board of control is held accountable for the 1,000 or 1,100 children born out of wedlock each year in Minnesota, but each of the 86 counties in the State is asked and expected to care for the illegitimate children within its bounds.

CHILD-WELFARE BOARDS.

The law provides that the initiative in child-welfare work must come from the county itself, since before any action is taken by the State board the county commissioners must pass a formal resolution requesting the board of control to appoint a child-welfare board. This action on the part of the county commissioners frequently, in fact usually, is stimulated by certain private individuals or groups in the communities who have seen the need for child-welfare work.

Appointment and personnel.¹

The selection of appointees to the child-welfare boards was formerly made on the basis of correspondence with individuals recommended by the judge of probate, the county attorney, and representatives of certain social organizations. At present, a representative of the State board of control in each case interviews the persons recommended and inquires into their qualifications. After the representative of the State board has visited the prospective board members and has investigated their fitness for the position her recommendations are sent to the board, and formal appointments, including duly executed commissions, are sent to the members chosen. These appointments are for one year only. If for any reason the board fails to function properly, a reorganization may take place.

The law determines the personnel of the board to the extent that one county commissioner, chosen by the board of county commissioners, and the county superintendent of schools are ex officio members. Of the remaining three (in cities of the first class, five) members, two must be women. In 1922 all the county commissioners were men, but in 51 counties the county superintendents of schools were women. Among the appointive members on 68 boards 45 were men, so that men constituted 35 per cent of the total membership.

Organization and meetings.

When the boards were first organized they met very irregularly and infrequently. Now, each board is required by the State board of control to hold meetings at least six times each year and is urged to hold them monthly. Each member is required to be present at half of the meetings yearly. A member who fails to attend without adequate excuse may be asked to resign; or if the delinquent member happens to be a county commissioner, the county board may be asked to choose another representative to serve on the child-welfare board.

¹ For a full discussion of the method of appointment, personnel, and organization of the child-welfare boards, see "Organization and development of county child-welfare boards in Minnesota," by William W. Hodson, in *County Organization for Child Care and Protection*, U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 107, Washington, 1922.

One member is chosen as chairman, and upon him rests the responsibility for calling the meetings and for presiding at them.

A position even more important than the chairmanship is that of secretary. The secretary is asked to keep accurate minutes of each board meeting and also to keep continuous records of each case discussed by the board. The fact that fairly satisfactory records are kept by many of the boards represents a real achievement. Another important duty of the secretary is the assignment of each case considered by the board to some individual member for investigation. Often the county is divided into five districts and one board member is held responsible for all the cases needing attention in a particular district. As soon as these investigations are completed the records are given to the secretary, who makes the necessary reports to the board of control and the person referring the case. The centralization of responsibility in the secretary has increased the efficiency of the boards.

The experience of the child-welfare board usually points to the need for a trained executive secretary. The law authorizes the board to appoint such a person, but the policy of the State board of control has been not to urge that action immediately except in cities of the first class. Aside from financial considerations, experience has shown that the board members gain a more sympathetic appreciation of the social problems in the county by struggling alone with them for several months. In January, 1922, 17 counties besides those containing the Twin Cities and Duluth had either full or part-time executive secretaries. In five of these counties the entire expense was borne by the county commissioners.

Relation to county nursing service.

The county commissioners may authorize the child-welfare board to supervise the work of the county nurse, and in some counties where it is impossible to employ both a nurse and a social worker the nurse serves as executive agent of the child-welfare board. There is always danger in such an arrangement that the nurse will be forced to neglect either the public-health or the child-welfare work, since the two kinds of work can not be adequately performed by one person.

In Hennepin County, in which Minneapolis is located, the nurses for the county are under the supervision of the child-welfare board but have a separate budget of \$12,500.

Financing.

It is an interesting fact that the funds of the child-welfare board come from the county, although the work is supervised by the State.

The board is empowered to appoint an executive secretary and necessary assistants, and to fix their salaries, subject to the approval of the county commissioners. The necessary traveling expenses of the board members are paid out of the revenue fund of the county. The child-welfare board may present the bills to the commissioners, but the preferable method is to secure an appropriation in advance sufficient to cover the year's expenses. In counties containing cities of the first class a budget is carefully worked out, amounting in Hennepin to \$12,900, in Ramsey to \$11,500, and in St. Louis County to \$5,000. The experience of 10 other counties up to May 4, 1921, showed the maximum expense, exclusive of the salary of an executive secretary, to be \$150 per year.

Sometimes a peculiar local situation, either political or social, makes the formation of a board very difficult, though a full-time paid agent is obviously needed in the county to cooperate with the State board of control in the fulfillment of its duties toward children. In such a situation the judge of the juvenile court may appoint an agent, usually known as a probation officer, at a salary fixed by the judge with the approval of the county commissioners. An agent thus appointed, or an executive secretary of a child-welfare board, may be directed by the county commissioners to serve as probation officer or truant officer or to assist in the investigation and supervision of county allowances to mothers. The determination of whether the agents shall perform these duties rests with the judge of probate and the county superintendent of schools, rather than with the county board of commissioners.

STATE CHILDREN'S BUREAU.

The phrasing of the statute which gives the State board of control the right to supervise the local child-welfare boards permits of a very liberal interpretation. The act of 1917 charges the board with the responsibility of enforcing all laws for the protection of children and "to take the initiative in all matters involving their interests" when adequate provision therefor has not already been made, leaving the method of procedure to be determined by the board, and authorizes it to create a bureau for the administration of these functions, appointing and fixing the salaries of a chief executive officer and such assistants as shall be deemed necessary to carry out the purposes of the act. The Minnesota Children's Bureau was organized accordingly with an executive officer known as director. For nearly two years after the law became effective the bureau's regular staff consisted of only three people. One worker had the responsibility for all work with unmarried mothers and their children, an-

other supervised the maternity hospitals and children's institutions, and the third had charge of all investigations of adoptions and placements and of the bureau's work for feeble-minded children. With such a limited staff there was little opportunity for detailed supervision of the child-welfare boards, 26 of which were created in the first five months of 1918.

It was impossible to appoint anyone to the particular task of helping the counties to organize and of instructing them in the enforcement of the laws, until the fall of 1919, when such an appointment was made. At that time a supervisor of the work for the feeble-minded was also secured. The present organization was not effected until one year later. In May, 1920, the director of the children's bureau submitted to the board of control a plan for dividing the State into five districts, ranging in size from 15 to 19 counties each. For each of these districts there was to be a field representative, who would try to visit each county at least once in three months. The field representatives were to be responsible to a field supervisor who would correspond with the boards, help field representatives plan their work, and give advice on all difficult case problems. The proposed plan was accepted by the board and became effective in the fall of 1920.

This scheme of organization meant a new policy in the administration of the law. Up to that time the emphasis had been entirely legal. The appointment of a case supervisor marked the application of the social case-work method to the problem of unmarried mothers and their children. The supervisor chosen is an experienced case worker, and most of the field representatives have had some kind of previous experience in social work, although only one has had training with a family-welfare agency.

Work of district representatives.

The field representatives plan to visit each county at least quarterly, but when a board has just been organized it is advisable for the representative to attend every meeting for the first few months. With 15 or 20 counties to supervise this is not easy to do. In the 15 counties in which no boards have been organized the field representatives, in addition to stimulating the local interest in organizing a board, have to do whatever case work is absolutely necessary. Field representatives in their rural work have to cover great distances and travel long hours. For example, in one case it takes two days to go from the southern to the northern part of a county 150 miles in length, because of the poor train connections. A delinquent girl who is under the supervision of one of the boards lives on an island

40 miles from shore. In order to reach one unmarried mother it is necessary to go 75 miles by train, 20 miles by trolley, 20 miles by stage, and 6 miles by livery.

Obviously, the field representatives have too large territories to cover. The budget for the biennial period 1923-24 presented to the legislature recognized this fact and provided for one more field representative. It is too early yet to predict whether or not the appropriations committee of the legislature will grant the increase in the budget.

CHAPTER III. THE COMMUNITY'S RESPONSIBILITY.

The Minnesota illegitimacy law was enacted not because the people as a whole wanted it but because a few individuals saw the need for such legislation. In order to secure the enforcement of the law it has been necessary to educate a great many people to see it. The social workers in the larger centers of population realized the especial need of illegitimate children for the protection of the State, but it was an entirely different matter to make the mass of people throughout the 86 counties of the State aware of it. The lack of understanding of the problem in the rural and semirural sections was quite natural; prior to 1918 the responsibility for the illegitimate child was shifted in large part from these districts to the city, since the unmarried mother often left her home town in order to escape criticism, and, in many instances, to dispose of her child.

The task of the Minnesota Children's Bureau in enforcing the new legislation has been to make the counties see that they are not relieved of responsibility for the unmarried mother and her child by a mere change of residence on her part. The burden of support for the child still falls upon the general public, and is met through taxation if not through voluntary contributions to child-caring institutions and organizations. The problem to be solved, then, is in part economic. How can the burden of the support of the illegitimate child be placed on the child's own parents? The Minnesota statute answers this question, but the social phase of the problem remains to be dealt with. The traditional policy of socially ostracising both the mother and the child has not been successful in reducing the number of illegitimate children. How can the people of Minnesota be convinced of this fact and persuaded to adopt some other policy? They must realize, first, that when the legal procedure for establishing paternity has been completed and the necessary support has been ordered from the father, the solution of the problem has only been begun. The task of fitting these two individuals into the social order is one which requires the services of the community, in addition to those of the State board of control and of its deputies, the members of the child-welfare boards.

In the enforcement of illegitimacy legislation the whole approach to the problem must be rationalized. The communities must learn that the problem of the illegitimate mother and child must be faced calmly and considered in a great many different aspects—physical, mental, moral, and social. The causes must be studied and the con-

science of the community aroused to responsibility for removing the causes.

The charge may be made that so much attention to the unmarried mother and child will cast reflection upon the marriage law by encouraging an attitude of skepticism toward the necessity of marriage. This might be true if merely the legal technicalities were fulfilled; but the social treatment which should be given every unmarried mother will guard against such an interpretation of the statute.

In fact, no feature of the work conducted by the child-welfare boards is more important than the expected contribution to preventive methods. Among other aspects of the problem it is necessary to make every community see the relationship between illegitimacy and education, mental defect, mental hygiene, recreation, dependency, and economic opportunity.

EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS INVOLVED.

Inadequacy of school facilities.

Three very serious problems facing the rural schools of Minnesota which have an indirect bearing upon illegitimacy are transportation, attendance, and standards for teachers. The transportation problem is especially serious in the less thickly populated portions of the State, especially where there are wide stretches of uncleared land and swamps, and has been only partially met by arrangements in some counties for transportation of school children at public expense or for allowance from public funds toward the expense of boarding rural children in town during the school year. The question of attendance, also, is more acute in the rural and semirural than in the city schools. The parents of a country boy may keep him out of school from April 1 to November 1, if he is needed to help at home, in many cases without incurring a suitable penalty. The problem of standards for teachers, particularly in the smaller schools, has been intensified by the shortage of suitable applicants for teaching positions.

Mental defect.

The relationship between mental defect and illegitimacy is more easily understood than the relation between low educational standards and delinquency and for that reason, perhaps, has sometimes been overstressed. At the same time, in most rural communities the state of public intelligence regarding mental defect is still woefully vague; great confusion exists as to the distinction between feeble-mindedness and psychopathy; and general practitioners without any special training are considered able to diagnose either mental defect or mental disease.

Recreation.

The importance of adequately supervised recreation as a factor in the illegitimacy problem can hardly be overemphasized. In Minnesota legal restrictions have been placed on dance halls and pool rooms, but these statutes are imperfectly enforced. In most of the counties ideas on recreation have not exceeded the repressive stage. The great amount of commercialized recreation offered by the communities includes very little that is wholesome. The task of supplying constructive suggestions rests with the child-welfare boards.

EDUCATING THE COMMUNITY.

Efforts to further enlightenment on these subjects have been made by the Minnesota Children's Bureau both through the district representatives and through the local board members. The educational process started, necessarily, with the county officials and the people chosen to serve on the boards. While a few of these persons had had previous experience in social work, for example in the home-service work of the Red Cross, the majority had not at the time of their appointment given much thought to social problems. One of the most effective methods of education has been to have a trained worker from the children's bureau investigate thoroughly a particular case in which the board is interested and if necessary carry it through court. The concrete example of how the matter should be handled teaches more than many textbooks. In such an instance the judge, the county attorney, and the county board often see for the first time the real need for the statute.

Community understanding is best developed through addresses and talks. The children's bureau has made a great effort to comply with all requests for speakers, even in 1918 and 1919, when the staff was so limited that it was impossible to reach all parts of the State. Informal explanations of the new child-welfare laws given before clubs and churches undoubtedly increased the demand for organization of boards. Newspaper publicity has been more difficult to arrange, because the confidential nature of the work prevents the use of case stories which illustrate the law most vividly. Some newspaper material has been prepared by the children's bureau and some of the larger, more active boards have had their annual reports published. Probably more newspaper publicity could be secured if each board possessed one member who would write an article each week on some phase of child-welfare work, making the application local so far as possible without using identifying information. Book reviews and abstracts from pamphlets or articles, also, would be valuable.

Two counties have circularized their school-teachers, asking that all school children needing the services of the child-welfare board

be reported. The county superintendent of schools, being an *ex officio* member of the board, has an opportunity to explain the nature of the work at the teachers' institute usually held in the fall or to the individual teachers on the occasion of visits to schools throughout the county. Two county child-welfare boards have circularized the physicians and asked their cooperation in reporting unmarried mothers as early as possible in the period of pregnancy. If the physicians could all be convinced of the value of reporting such girls to the child-welfare board immediately the chances for effective case work would be greatly increased. In one county the cooperation of the township representatives has been sought. This would be especially valuable in all counties where the poor relief is drawn from the township rather than from the county.

In the project of educating the communities as to standards of child welfare, it is of course necessary that the officials responsible for the enforcement of the child-welfare laws and the members of the child-welfare boards act as leaders. With this in view the State board of control has been authorized to call an annual conference of these people. This conference is held at the same time and place as the State conference of social work. In addition, the children's bureau has held regional conferences throughout the winters of 1921-22 and 1922-23, in which the representatives of four or five counties have met for two-day sessions to discuss the case problems with which they are struggling. These conferences were organized on the plan of two discussion sessions, usually limited to board members and officials, and one open meeting in which an attempt was made to interest the whole community in child welfare. The conferences have been fairly well attended by both men and women, although in most of them the board members are still somewhat afraid to take part in open discussion.

A slower but perhaps more effectual method of reaching the boards is to arrange for a special discussion on the day when the district representative meets with the board. Since the aim of the children's bureau is to have each board visited at least quarterly, one session each might be devoted to the discussion of (1) the feeble-minded, (2) county allowance, (3) illegitimacy, and (4) adoptions. One difficulty is that attendance at the conferences and travel to and from them would require more time than the majority of board members could afford. Anything less than a day's discussion of any of these subjects would scarcely make an impression. Perhaps the next step in the educational process will be the development of correspondence courses to supplement the visits of the district representatives.

CHAPTER IV. OPERATION OF THE LAW.

The Minnesota illegitimacy law was passed with the avowed purpose of securing for the illegitimate child as nearly as possible the same rights and privileges as had been or might be obtained for the legitimate child. This involves recognition of financial responsibility by the father and adjustment of child and mother in the community of which they are a part. To realize the purpose of the law in full it is necessary that the organization which administers it reach each unmarried mother and father and obtain in each case all the facts which may contribute to the understanding of the problem and its solution.

The gathering of all information necessary to the proper treatment of a case of illegitimacy is made difficult at present by the attitude of the public. In many communities interviews with the father and mother and constant supervision to see that they fulfill the intent of the law are resented. The idea back of a law which seeks to remove the stigma of illegitimacy is revolutionary. The complete enforcement of such legislation can not be secured until public opinion has been educated to the point of demanding enforcement. At present the work of education is largely in the hands of volunteers who can not devote all their time to it. Any progress shown in a better general understanding of the problem of the unmarried mother and her child must be counted as success in the operation of the law.

RESULTS OF STUDY OF CASES HANDLED IN 1921.

Proportion of cases being reached.

A comparison of the number of cases of illegitimacy dealt with by the children's bureau with the number recorded by the State board of health in each year of the four-year period beginning with 1918, when the law became effective, affords a basis for judging the extent to which the former is covering its field. The board of health can not report illegitimate births directly to the children's bureau; in order to protect the records and insure complete registration of the illegitimate births, both the board and the local registrars of births are forbidden to disclose the fact of illegitimacy without an order of court.

Illegitimate births recorded by State board of health :		Illegitimacy cases recorded by children's bureau :	
1918 -----	1, 039	1918 -----	782
1919 -----	910	1919 -----	891
1920 -----	1, 000	1920 -----	1, 113
1921 -----	1, 190	1921 -----	1, 335

Direct comparison between these two groups of figures can not be made. A birth may occur in one year and the case be reported to the children's bureau in the following year; or a pregnancy reported to the children's bureau may not result in a report to the State board of health because of abortion or miscarriage. In 1921 miscarriage or abortion occurred in 39 of the cases handled by the children's bureau. In 74 others the girl left the State before confinement or returned to it after the birth of the child, so that the birth was not recorded in Minnesota. In 65 cases which came to the attention of some child-welfare board the girl married before the birth of the child, making the birth legitimate. Of the cases included in the children's bureau records for 1921 there were 71 in which confinement did not occur until 1922, and which were therefore recorded by the State board of health as 1922 cases, and 50 more in which the birth occurred before 1921, the data were not stated in the records, or the child was considered legitimate because born while the mother was still living with her husband.

When these cases are deducted from the number reported by the children's bureau in 1921 the remainder is 1,086. A comparison of this figure with that of illegitimate births reported to the board of health, 1,190, indicates that a large proportion of the cases occurring in the State were coming under the supervision of the bureau. Since the bureau is especially careful to see that the child-welfare boards verify the registration of all births, it is unlikely that any children's bureau cases fail to be recorded in the State board of health.

A comparison of the two sets of data by counties shows that in 18 counties the figures agree; in 18 counties the child-welfare boards had more cases, but in 50 out of 86 counties the State board of health had more.

Interstate and international migration.

An accurate account of the interstate migration of unmarried mothers will never be secured until studies similar to this are being made in all the States. The need for such a study is shown by the figures as to the mothers' residence before confinement. Of the entire 1921 group 30 per cent (428 out of 1,385) came from outside Minnesota, the greatest number from Wisconsin. Such a situation complicates Minnesota's problem. Not so many unmarried mothers leave the State after confinement as enter before confinement. The cases of the latter group are very difficult to handle, since in the majority of them the man is in the State from which the mother has come and paternity can not be established in Minnesota. In addition, if a mother from another State is found to be mentally defective it is often difficult to secure custodial care for her in her own

State. She has to be persuaded to return to her own town and the matter has to be reported to the proper State officials. She may leave the train before reaching her home town if she senses the danger of commitment, or if she is a resident of a rural district her own State may have no means of providing for her commitment. In such a case she may remain at home, become pregnant again, and again return to Minnesota for confinement.

For example, in December, 1920, a 19-year-old junior in high school came from a Wisconsin farm to Minneapolis and gave birth to an illegitimate child. The alleged father was a resident of Wisconsin, so no legal action could be taken, and the girl returned home with the child. In May, 1922, she returned to Minneapolis and gave birth to an illegitimate child by a different man. If there had been a State organization in Wisconsin which could have supervised her after her return, perhaps the repetition could have been avoided.

Such supervision is especially needed by girls whose home influence is poor. Such was the case of the oldest of a family of 10, of whom 2 were feeble-minded. The paternal grandfather was diagnosed as having manic-depressive insanity and the maternal aunt was deaf and dumb. The girl herself was illegitimate. When her baby was a few months old she returned to her own State, leaving the child dependent in Minnesota.

The international aspect of the illegitimacy problem is shown in the 21 cases treated during 1921 of Canadian girls who came to Minnesota for confinement. One of these girls returned to Canada, leaving her child at board with a woman in a rural county of the State, who is very fond of the child. The mother wishes the child to be adopted. The alleged father is in Canada and has been sending money for the child's support, but refuses to make legal acknowledgment of paternity. The home where the child is boarded is not a proper one for adoption; consequently, should the alleged father choose to stop paying board, the State of Minnesota would be required to care for a dependent child whose parents were completely evading responsibility, although well able to assume it.

The greatest number of cases from outside Minnesota come from the adjoining States and Canada. The figures for 1921 are as follows: Wisconsin, 153; North Dakota, 102; South Dakota, 64; Iowa, 43; Canada, 21; and Illinois, 19. Several, however, came from far distant places—2 from Oregon and California, 1 from New York, and several from Norway, Sweden, and Scotland. In a few instances deportation has been possible, but too often the case does not come to the attention of the officials until it is impossible for the girl to travel. Then the child can not be deported because he is an American citizen. In one case a 17-year-old girl and a 31-year-

old married man were deported to Canada before the birth of the child. In another a 17-year-old girl who came from Norway was deported after the birth of the child and the child was left in Minnesota to be adopted.

Difficulty of enforcing responsibility of counties.

The enforcement of the illegitimacy law involves the forcing back upon each community of the responsibility for the delinquency of any of its residents. Now that the isolation of the rural districts is being broken down by better means of transportation, closer social relationships should be developed.

In dealing with illegitimacy the cities have endured a double burden for so long that the smaller communities feel helpless when called upon to cope with the problem of the adjustment of the unmarried mother and her child. The mother is very likely to want to stay in the city with her child after confinement or to leave the child when she returns home. It is, of course, very difficult to persuade a girl to return and face her friends and her critics with her child, and in many cases this would not be desirable. On the other hand the danger of allowing an unmarried mother to remain in a strange city, especially if she gives up her child, is so great that other expedients must be sought. If the local board members could find time to interview all the near relatives of the girls, more resources of helpfulness might be revealed; or two or three adjoining counties might arrange for an exchange of girls, placing them in new communities but keeping them under supervision and also removing them from the stimulation of city life. The problem of illegitimacy is one which concerns every county in the State, although in 1921 one county did not appear in the illegitimacy records of the children's bureau and the statistics of the State board of health showed no illegitimate births for five counties.

Increasing scope of work.

The efforts of the child-welfare boards to carry out the purpose of the law are causing a rapid growth in the number of their cases. The boards of the cities where are found the greatest number of trained paid workers are so overwhelmed with their case load that they are unable to care for the girls to the best of their knowledge. An unmarried mother and child cease to be subject to the supervision of a child-welfare board only when they both leave the State, when the mother gives up the child through court proceedings or marries the father of the child, or when the child dies. In September, 1922, 538 of the cases for the year 1921—less than half—had fallen into these four classes. This means that 847 were still under treatment in Minnesota nine months after the year closed,

and were likely to continue under treatment for some months or years. If this is the situation during the fifth year of the enforcement of the law, it is easy to see that a tremendous increase in case load must be expected in the future.

On September 1, 1922, 2,610 unmarried mothers were under active treatment by the children's bureau and the child-welfare boards. Of this number, 976 had come to the attention of the bureau during 1922; the remaining 1,634 were women whose cases had arisen during the first four years of the bureau's existence. The division of these cases according to the years in which they were reported shows the growth of the bureau's work.

Number of cases of unmarried mothers.

1918-----	89	1920-----	457
1919-----	241	1921-----	847

Undoubtedly more of the 1918 and 1919 cases should have remained active, but they had to be closed because of inadequate staff.

Development in methods of recording cases.

The information which the child-welfare boards have regarding most of their illegitimacy cases is quite inadequate, but it is not to be expected that these records will compare with those which are being written now in the family-welfare societies of the cities. They may more justly be compared with the records of city organizations 10 years ago. Although case-work methods have been standardized to a considerable extent in the last decade, the child-welfare boards outside the cities can not be expected to achieve that standardization until they have passed through a process of development similar to the experience of the city organizations. It is impossible to superimpose standards of investigation and case-record writing on volunteer organizations whose members can not devote their entire time to the work. The surprising feature of the records of the Minnesota child-welfare boards is the progress which has been made. The 1921 records for the entire State were first read for this study in January, 1922, and were reread in September of the same year. During the first reading a marked improvement was observed in the treatment of the December, 1921, cases as compared with those opened in January of that year. That this improvement has been steady and continuous was clearly apparent from the rereading of the records in September, 1922; at that time they contained much added information and revealed many improved methods of treatment. Interest in securing information about illegitimacy was stimulated by sending to the child-welfare boards throughout the State copies of the schedule on which the data for this study were being

collected, with a request for their assistance in securing as much information as possible about this group.

Social data.

With all its incompleteness this information has revealed an array of facts regarding the social background of the girls and men which is of immense value to a proper understanding and treatment of the problem.

Ages of girls and men.—A consideration of the ages of the mothers is important because the problem is of one sort if the unmarried mothers are very young girls and entirely different in character if they are women of mature years. A like distinction can be made with reference to the fathers. Ages under 18 years were given by 246 girls, but by only 31 men; ages between 18 and 21 years by 499 girls and 210 men. In other words, 59 per cent of the unmarried mothers who were cared for by the child-welfare boards in 1921 were under 21 years of age; as contrasted with 23 per cent of the fathers.¹ Practically none of the girls' ages have been verified, and according to experience the chances are that even more girls belonged to this age group. There were 363 girls and 438 men between the ages of 21 and 25, and in the group over 25 years the men exceeded the girls by 387 to 147. The evidence strongly supports the conclusion that unmarried mothers come largely from the younger and immature age groups, but that the fathers are usually mature men, and is a sufficient answer to the accusation that this illegitimacy law merely protects "designing women" in enforcing their claims.

The need for verification of ages is especially evident in the cases of girls under 18, in which criminal prosecution should be made.

Early history.—The results of this study confirm the findings of other similar studies in showing that a large proportion of unmarried mothers come from broken homes. The figures are as follows:

Mother dead.....	119
Father dead	141
Both parents dead.....	75
Parents divorced.....	40
Parents separated.....	27

² 402

In addition to these statistics on the marital status of the girls' parents, questions as to family conditions revealed many cases of abnormality. In 27 families some member other than the girl was obviously feeble-minded; in 24 some member was found to be insane;

¹ Based on numbers for whom ages were known.

² Or nearly 30 per cent of all.

epilepsy was present in 4; and in 90 some member other than the unmarried mother had been delinquent.

The 1921 records are full of family histories like the following: The family lives 3 miles from town. The girl's father, who is a section hand on the railroad, beats his wife and periodically deserts her. There are nine children younger than the 19-year-old girl who is an unmarried mother. The girl accepted a settlement for \$200 from the man's attorney without consulting the children's bureau. (There is no child-welfare board in this county.)

Another girl's father, a 60-year-old laborer who cuts ice for a living, has been a heavy drinker. Of this family of 14 children 9 are living. The 14-year-old daughter, who has just borne an illegitimate child, has had relations with boys since she was 8 years old. The paternity of her child could not be established because of promiscuity. Two 13-year-old boys and one 15-year-old boy were involved. An 11-year-old daughter is still in this home.

The size of the family, in connection with its economic status, frequently constitutes a social problem in itself. The numbers of girls known to have come from families of six or more were as follows:

Number of children in family.	Cases.
6.....	28
7.....	58
8.....	44
9.....	41
10.....	41
11.....	23
12.....	19
13.....	8
14.....	8
15.....	4
16.....	2
17.....	1
19.....	1
24.....	1
29.....	1
	<hr/> 3 280

The family of 29 children was the product of three marriages, and the family of 24 of two. (In the latter case the second mother was married at the age of 12 years.)

Information on the early history of the men is lacking in all but a few cases, but in these instances the poor environments found in the homes of the girls are matched. Examples are suggested by the following notes: "Man's father, section foreman. Nine children. One

³ Or nearly 19 per cent of all.

brother blind, one brother in a reformatory, two children feeble-minded." "Man's mother, a widow with 11 children."

The fact that a large proportion of these poor homes were found in rural districts indicates that the forces which tend to destroy family life operate the same in the country as in the city, and that rural communities need family case work such as has been developed in the larger centers.

Unfortunately most of the records lack any but the slightest information as to the girl's friendships, the part of her life which is most important outside of family life. Almost every girl has at least one girl friend in whom she confides and with whom she shares her social pleasures. This is especially true of girls whose home life is abnormal; so that the girl friends of unmarried mothers, especially of those coming from poor homes, are one of the social worker's most valuable sources of information.

In a few of the 1921 cases the record shows that the whole moral tone of the community is low. Statements such as these frequently appear in the records: "The girls in the factory talk of nothing but sex matters." "All the girls have relations with the boys when they go out." A thorough investigation of one unmarried mother may bring to light conditions of this sort and force the community to consider the problem.

Marital status.—The records of 1921 show that of the 847 mothers of illegitimate children at least 133 had been married. Not all the alleged cases of marriage or divorce or widowhood have been verified, and of course women not infrequently tell a story of marital unhappiness instead of stating the actual relationship in which they were living. Nevertheless the marriage of 133 mothers was verified. According to the records the group included 32 widows, 29 divorced women, and 72 women who either had been deserted by their husbands or had left their homes voluntarily. Possibly many of these marriages should never have been permitted, and many of the women may have needed help after the death or desertion of their husbands.

The records in regard to the marital status of the men show that 226 had been married, a few of them being widowers and divorced men.

Education.—According to their records, in more than half the cases the child-welfare boards knew nothing about the education of the girls. Where information was given as to the age of the girl when she stopped school and the extent of her schooling, this usually represents merely the girl's own statement and not the report from the school last attended. The extent of the man's education is mentioned in only 41 cases. It is obvious that intelligent plan-

ning for the future of the child or his parents is much more difficult in the absence of information as to the parents' education and training.

The educational statistics of the girls show that 213 had had from one to four years of high school, and that 226 more either had completed the eighth grade or were in that grade when they left school. With all due allowance for the schools where there are no ungraded classes and mental defectives are passed on from grade to grade, these facts indicate a higher mental type than that of the unmarried mother is popularly supposed to be.

Mentality.—It is of course desirable that intelligence tests be given to every unmarried mother; in Minnesota, at present, an attempt is being made to have tests given in all the obvious cases of mental deficiency. Of the 78 mothers examined in 1921, 59 had intelligence quotients of less than 80. The discouraging part of this phase of the problem is that even with a diagnosis showing an intelligence quotient of less than 60 it is frequently impossible to secure commitment because the doctors or judges or attorneys do not consider the girl feeble-minded.

The experience of the children's bureau in trying to protect some unmarried mothers who were of very low-grade mentality and in trying to save the State from further expense in supporting feeble-minded children illustrates the ignorance of community leaders on the subject of reproduction of the unfit. An example is the case of a girl 24 years old who has had three illegitimate children by three different men, the first delinquency occurring when she was only 16. According to Stanford-Binet tests her mental age is $8\frac{1}{2}$ years and her intelligence quotient is 51. She was committed to the State board of control and placed in the State institution for the feeble-minded. The pastor of her church then tried to intercede with the board of control in behalf of the girl's family and asked for her release, feeling sure that she had now "learned her lesson" and would have no more illegitimate children.

Another girl, 19 years old, who has both syphilis and gonorrhea, gave birth to an illegitimate child who is nearly blind because of venereal infection. The girl has a mental age of $8\frac{3}{4}$ years and an intelligence quotient of 58. The judge before whom the hearing for feeble-mindedness was held said she was not a fit subject for a feeble-minded institution, accepting the statement of the two examining physicians that she was not mentally defective. The following month the girl was married. The facts of this case show the defects of Minnesota's present method of commitment of the feeble-minded. The hearing is before a probate judge—in Minneapolis before a

court commissioner—who selects the examining physicians. It is not necessary for these men to have had any training in mental diseases, and the services of a psychologist are not provided for.

An improvement was made in the law in 1917 by having the feeble-minded committed to the State board of control rather than directly to the institution. This helps, but does not get at the root of the difficulty: the State can not do much in the way of supervision if examination and commitment are left in the hands of totally unqualified persons.

Another phase of the problem which, although it will correct itself in time, is still serious is that in the State school for the feeble-minded at Faribault there are still some inmates who were not committed by the court and who can therefore be released by the superintendent of the institution. He is privileged to have an investigation of home conditions made by the children's bureau before allowing a patient to return home, and may also demand a court commitment if the relatives become insistent in trying to secure the release of an inmate.

In the case of a 22-year-old girl who had been an inmate of the institution for 10 years, the superintendent secured a report of the home conditions and learned they were unfavorable, but instead of requesting a court commitment he allowed the girl to go home for a vacation. While she was at home her father and two other men had relations with her, and she returned to the institution pregnant. The two men were found guilty of rape, but the father was acquitted of the charge of incest. As long as it is possible for such a thing to occur, the difficulties of controlling the illegitimacy problem are almost insurmountable.

A similar case is that of a girl 22 years old, but with a mental age of 6 years, who was committed to the State institution just before the present law went into effect. She was allowed to return home, and within a year gave birth to an illegitimate child. The jury was unable to establish paternity, because so many men were involved. The girl was recommitted to the institution, but as a result of political pressure was again paroled. The education of the community in which the girl lives must be accomplished by showing them the increased taxation which will result if girls of this grade of mentality are not safeguarded.

The present method of commitment is even more unsatisfactory in the case of the insane than in that of the mentally defective. One woman, who was committed to a State hospital for the insane in 1918, was paroled and then recommitted. Although her first parole was a failure, she was again paroled, and in a year's time gave birth to an illegitimate child. All she could tell about the father of the child

was that his name was "Jim." She had met him on street corners and in parks. Her child had to be committed to the State school as dependent. Her relatives promised to return her to the State hospital as soon as cold weather came, asserting that she was "better in the summer time." This last statement disagreed with the known facts of the case.

The history of another woman who gave birth to an illegitimate child at the age of 34 years shows the results of one method of dealing with illegitimacy and insanity. Her mother died when she was very young and her father when she was 16. At the age of 17 she was compelled by the administrator of her father's estate to marry a man by whom she had become^{*} pregnant. He never supported her or their four children. After 12 years of cruel treatment by him she was committed to a State hospital for the insane as a case of manic-depressive insanity. Three years later she was paroled, but did not return to her husband. She soon became pregnant and was returned to the institution. No information could be secured about the father, and the child had to be committed as a dependent to the State school.

Health.—Very little was recorded about the health of the girls except some very obvious facts. The maternity homes and hospitals in the cities require tests for venereal disease at the time of admission, and since most of the girls are confined in these places the reports on venereal disease are probably fairly complete. Only 125 girls were found to be diseased. As soon as a girl is found with venereal infection the State board of health tries to locate the men who have been exposed to infection by her, but frequently they are out of the State or deny having had relations with the girl. The children's bureau records show only 18 men diagnosed as having venereal disease, but owing to the incompleteness of information regarding the men this figure has but slight significance.

Mention is made of a few cases of tuberculosis among both the men and girls and a few cases of epilepsy. Information on previous illnesses, medical care, and physical defects is entirely lacking.

Occupation.—An attempt has been made to list the occupations of both the girls and the men at the time of conception rather than before or after, in order to discover any evidence that the conditions of employment have a causal relation to the problem. The statistics regarding employment of the girls agree with those of studies previously made; the group for whom occupation was reported included 422 girls (30 per cent) engaged in housework, 140 waitresses, 109 factory workers, 96 clerks, 62 telephone operators, 55 stenographers, 55 students, 31 teachers, and 30 chambermaids. The remaining occupations reported include those of usher, elevator operator, nurse,

milliner, seamstress, and workers in laundries, bakeries, and hospitals. For nearly 300 girls the occupation was not reported.

Housework and the occupation of waitress naturally absorb the unskilled, poorly educated girls, but in addition it seems that the physical fatigue associated with both occupations may result in a desire for highly stimulating recreation which finds expression in patronizing the public dance hall. Moreover, both occupations afford many opportunities for girls to meet undesirable types of men. In many instances a case had its origin on some remote farm where both girl and man were employed or in the restaurant of a small town where traveling salesmen stopped for their meals. The telephone operators, clerks, and factory workers were mostly city girls; the teachers were usually girls from rural districts who had only eighth-grade certificates and had perhaps attended one summer session at normal school. The seriousness of this problem among rural school-teachers can hardly be overestimated.

The occupational figures for the men show 167 farmers, 82 railroad men, 68 traveling salesmen, 63 truck drivers, and 31 clerks in stores as the principal occupation groups. These figures are so incomplete as to be of little value, but the occupations mentioned suggest that the majority of the men concerned came from among the semiskilled and the unskilled. There are no reports of interviews with employers except a few held by children's bureau representatives and some of the trained workers. In the rural districts the board members do not yet see the need for such interviews, and the child-welfare workers in the cities do not have time for them.

Other social facts.—Scarcely any answers were given to the questions in regard to sex education. In the statements as to when and where they met the men the automobile ride home after a dance was often mentioned. Both in the city and in the country many of the girls first met the men at public dance halls.

The fact that 300 girls admitted relations with more than one man and that 128 had had more than one illegitimate child shows that many girls had not come to the attention of the child-welfare boards soon enough, and in some instances that the case work was not thorough when they did come. Of the 128 repeaters 98 have had two illegitimate children, 18 have had three, 8 have had four, and 4 have had five. In most of these cases the girl had been relieved of the responsibility of previous children either through death or adoption or by relatives.

The sex history of the men as given on the records is largely a statement of attitude toward the girl and toward the circumstances attending her pregnancy. A small minority admitted paternity and

wanted to marry, but the majority either advised abortion, if they admitted paternity at all, or asserted that the girls were promiscuous. They either tried to settle for a small sum or disappeared as soon as they learned of the girls' condition. Sometimes they married other girls, hoping thereby to escape responsibility.

The child-welfare boards in the cities have been very slow to take advantage of the mass of social information about their clients which is available through the Confidential Exchange or Central Registration Bureau. The confidential character of the work has been used as a defense, but the real reason for the failure has been the lack of trained workers on the boards. As the work is developing throughout all the counties the need for a State registration bureau is becoming increasingly urgent. In fact, a clearing house is needed for all the State departments dealing with families or individuals. At the present time one member of a family may be at the State sanatorium for tuberculosis, another may be in a reformatory or prison, and some children may be at one of the State schools, and one State department may have no idea of the plans of another State department for the family. The different officials confer occasionally, but there is no central record system and not even a registration system which will inform each department of the interest of other departments.

TREATMENT OF CASES HANDLED IN 1921.

Legal action.

Cases involving girls under 18.—If criminal prosecution had been started in every one of the 246 cases in which the girl gave her age as under 18 years, the success of the law would have been more nearly assured. Instead, there were only 52 prosecutions, of which 26 were won, 17 were pending at the time of the study, 2 were dropped when the girl married, and 7 were lost. There are many reasons for the nonenforcement of the law. As has been mentioned, the girl's appearance as to physical maturity influences the action of the county attorney even in allowing a complaint to be entered. In the second place, the girls and their parents are often reluctant to make charges when conviction would mean that the man would be imprisoned. The development of public opinion in favor of the enforcement of this portion of the law is proving to be the most difficult task of all, and yet such enforcement will prove undoubtedly one of the most effective means of reducing the number of cases of this type.

In cases in which the men concerned were under 21 years of age there have been several convictions. When the men are actually sent to the reformatory such action has a wholesome effect; but many times the sentence has been suspended and boys have been placed on

probation where there has been no trained probation officer to supervise them.

The following cases illustrate some of the difficulties in administering the law:

The parents of a 16-year-old girl refused to prosecute the 26-year-old man who was involved. Inasmuch as the baby died, one of the members of the local child-welfare board thought it was "better to ignore the gossip."

The mother of a 13-year-old girl was divorced from the girl's father and remarried, just before being confined, to a man who was reported to be responsible for the girl's pregnancy. The daughter was committed by the juvenile court to the home school for girls: but when her stepfather appealed the case she was placed on probation and allowed to stay at home, although she could not be supervised by a trained probation officer. The stepfather was allowed to adopt the illegitimate child.

A 17-year-old girl was the oldest of nine children. Her father had a violent temper; her grandmother, a midwife, allowed the home to remain in a filthy condition. After the girl was confined three of her brothers were given suspended sentences for carnal knowledge. When the case was last observed the grandmother had charge of the baby and the girl was staying out at night until 1.30 a. m.

A 16-year-old girl could not return to her home on account of her stepmother's objection, so she and her baby were sent to the home school. Three boys and one married man were sent to the reformatory on account of their relations with her. A fourth boy was allowed to go free because he stated that he wanted to marry her. He has failed to do so and will be brought in at the next term of court.

A 14-year-old girl was sent to the home school because her mother, a tuberculosis patient, had been deserted by the girl's stepfather and could not care for her. The father of the child was sent to the reformatory and eight boys were given suspended sentences.

The establishment of paternity.—The following list shows the results of paternity proceedings for the year 1921, action being taken in 463 cases, or 33 per cent of the total:

Total.....	463
Applications for complaints dismissed by the county attorney.....	18
Complaints on which no action has been taken at time of study	153
Preliminary hearings in municipal or justice court.....	45
Charges dismissed in district court.....	16
Men plead guilty.....	192
Men found guilty after jury trial.....	39

These numbers may seem to indicate a small proportion of successful prosecutions under a law which has been in operation for four years. The success of the law can not be measured entirely in terms of prosecutions. One verdict of guilty returned in 1921 was the first verdict of its kind in an illegitimacy case ever won in open court in ——— County. The man was defended by one of the best-known criminal lawyers in the State. He was found guilty and was ordered to pay \$15 monthly until the child was 16 years old, besides \$89 for confinement expenses. He declared he would appeal the case if he had the money, but 10 months later was found to be paying the order regularly.

An illegitimacy case successfully prosecuted in another county was the first that had been tried there in 18 years. The defendant was a middle-aged man 25 years older than the girl and worth about \$140,000. The jury found him guilty and ordered him to pay \$25 monthly. Ten months later he was brought into court for contempt and forced to pay the arrears of the order. In both these instances one of the field representatives of the children's bureau was present and assisted at the hearing. Such an action always encourages the local child-welfare board and is instructive to the county attorney.

Court orders for support.—Court orders for support were entered in 162 cases. The discrepancy between this number and the 231 cases in which paternity was established is explained by the death or commitment of the children or the marriage of the parents. When the statute regarding court orders was amended in 1919 to allow the court to fix the amount of the order, there was some apprehension on the part of those charged with the administration of the law lest the size of the orders would be reduced. Whether such has been the result could not be determined without a study of the orders made previous to 1919; but in 1921 the figures indicate that \$15 a month until the child became 16 years old was the amount usually ordered. Only 2 orders were for less than \$10 per month, and 43 for either \$10 or \$12; 72 were for \$15 or \$18, and 31 required payment of \$20. There were 12 orders for \$22.50 or \$25 and 1 requiring the man to pay \$30.

Some attempts have been made to protect these payments, but not much has been accomplished. Four men were required to give bond to insure payment and one other man furnished a \$1,000 bond, when paternity was established, to guarantee that the child would not become dependent before he was adopted. In five instances the man was required to carry \$1,000 insurance in favor of the child.

In seven cases the court ordered an increase in payments after the first year either from \$10 to \$15, from \$18 to \$20, or from \$20 to \$22.50. The children's bureau has urged the judges to make the

orders read "until further order of the court," so that if any unusual expenses arise for the child and the father is financially able to meet them he may be required by the court to do so. Many of the judges are following this suggestion.

Payment of orders.—The next question likely to be raised is whether the men are really paying the orders. Information on this point was available in regard to only 55 men; of these, 26 were paying regularly and 29 were being prosecuted for nonsupport. A reason why it is especially important that men who are delinquent in payment be brought into court and forced to pay is that many people who do not see the justice of the new legislation continue to argue that a small cash settlement is better than a court order for continuing payments. If more of the court orders could be protected by a bond, the old argument would lose much of its force.

Extradition.—The group studied includes only a few cases in which the law in regard to the extradition of a putative father was enforced. However, in spite of difficulties involved in the enforcement of this law, men were in 1921 returned from New York, Colorado, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Washington. The men have not been given penal sentences but have either made lump-sum settlements or been required to give bond (in one case to the extent of \$3,000) to insure payment of the order. In one case the prosecution was dropped after extradition because the girl married another man.

Settlements.—The attitude of the Minnesota Children's Bureau has been to oppose lump-sum settlements, because of the tendency to make the sum far too small, and, what is far more serious, the inelasticity of such an arrangement. If the financial status of the father changes or a special need arises for the child, it should be possible for the court to order an increase in the amount of payment. On the other hand, most court officials argue that a smaller sum in cash is preferable to a mere promise to pay a larger sum. The bureau has considered \$2,500 the minimum amount which should be accepted as a lump-sum settlement, but in only 2 cases out of 26 was so large an amount secured. In the 18 settlements effected without the approval of the bureau the amount ranged from \$175 to \$1,300, except in two cases settled outside the State—one for \$2,000 and one for \$3,000—and in one case settled out of court for \$4,000.

The lack of understanding on the part of the county attorneys of the purpose of a just settlement is most discouraging. One girl and her family accepted a \$600 settlement out of court because the county attorney told them that if monthly payments were ordered by court they had to be made to the State board of control. Some settlements, however, were more encouraging. In one case of a 16-

year-old girl which was heard in the judge's chambers the man was ordered to pay \$3,000 for the support of the child and \$2,000 to enable the girl to continue her education.

Care of the child.

An attempt is made by the child-welfare boards to keep the mother and baby together as long as possible, unless the mother is mentally incapable of caring for the child or the child is so defective at birth that the need for permanent institutional care is obvious. If the mother has no relatives to help her in the care of the child and the chances for permanent support from the father seem slight, she may be allowed to give the child up by a court proceeding, but not before an attempt to establish paternity is made. If the child is committed to a child-placing organization, he may be placed in a private home and later adopted. If the mother marries the father of the child after his birth, it becomes the duty of the child-welfare board to explain to the father the necessity for sending affidavits of paternity to the State board of health. If she marries another man, every effort is made to persuade her husband to adopt the child.

It will be seen then that an illegitimate child in Minnesota may remain with his mother when she works at a service position or in her own home; he may be boarded or cared for by relatives; he may be committed, placed, or adopted; or if the mother marries she may be able to keep the child with her. In spite of the careful check on the disposition of illegitimate children, some disappear or are taken out of the State.

Considerable evidence points to the wisdom of having the adoptions of dependent children approved by the same State department which supervises unmarried mothers. One man who had been adjudged the father of an illegitimate child made application with his wife to adopt a child in an institution to whom they had taken a fancy. On investigation it was found that he had made no payments on the court order for the support of his own illegitimate child, so he was advised to meet this obligation before assuming any new ones. In another case, in which the mother had stated that her parents were dead and an application was made to adopt the child, the adoption petition revealed the fact that the girl's parents were well able and willing to care for both her and the child.

From the time a girl gives up her baby in court until the child is permanently located in his foster home there are three stages in the process. At the time of commitment—when the mother gives up all legal right and the child is taken by some child-placing agency—the question arises whether the father of the child, if paternity has been

established, should not be given an opportunity to take the child before he is adopted by strangers. The law requires that the father shall be notified of the adoption hearing, and in a few instances the child-welfare boards have gone one step further and have interviewed the man before the hearing. The next step in the process is placement in the foster home, and the final step is adoption.

Of the children whose cases were handled by the child-welfare boards in 1921, 194 were committed, placed, or adopted. Besides these, 95 children were boarded in private families other than those of relatives, the expense to be met by the mother, by the father, or by both, sometimes with the assistance of charitable organizations. The success of the bureau's policy of keeping the mother and child together and strengthening the natural family ties in the girl's readjustment is shown by the fact that at least 28 per cent of the children were still with their mothers or with relatives at the time this study was made. In 140 cases girls who married kept their children, and in 97 others children were taken into the homes of relatives. The child was placed with the mother in her parents' home in 146 cases, and in 42 the mother took a service position with her baby.

In 159 records no statement was made regarding placement of mother and child. As this was due in many cases to the fact that they were still in the maternity home or hospital and no plans for the future had been made, it is likely that some of these children were kept with their mothers. In the 217 cases in which the girls disappeared or left the State the chances that the babies were kept with the mothers are slighter. It is probably a conservative estimate that at least 35 per cent of the illegitimate children were kept by their mothers for from one to two years after their birth.

Treatment of the girl.

The social treatment of the mother and child is really the core of the situation. In only a few cases has the social readjustment of the girl been satisfactorily accomplished. Up to the present time the children's bureau has had more than it could do in teaching the principles of investigation. Until the child-welfare boards were trained to secure the necessary information on the girls' previous histories they were not able to plan the treatment intelligently. The next step after investigation, moreover, is much more difficult to teach and is one that not many of the workers can understand until they have had a practical demonstration.

In the absence of adequate provision of psychiatric service by the State the children's bureau has been attempting to meet the situation as best it can. Intelligence tests are given to all girls who are obvi-

ously defective or who have had more than one illegitimate child. The next step will be to have the research department of the State board of control test all unmarried mothers in the maternity hospitals of the Twin Cities.

That further education is needed by most of the girls, and especially by the younger ones, can be seen in the fact that the largest numbers of the girls who go back to work go into housework and restaurant work. Any scheme of reeducation would involve financial aid, but the expenditure would be justified by the results in prevention of delinquency and later dependency of illegitimate children.

Marriages.

Many of the child-welfare boards and superintendents of maternity hospitals have not yet seen the danger of forced marriages, and are allowing men to marry in order to escape imprisonment or paternity proceedings. In 35 cases marriage took place after the complaint had been issued or after the arrest of the man. The unfortunate aspect of the situation is that many times the girls fail to see that the apparent affection of the men is unreal and that their promises are being made for the sole purpose of escaping a penalty. In many cases the girl has been genuinely fond of the man, and when this is true she is more apt to relent in the prosecution, especially if he is unable to secure bail and will have to remain in jail for some months if she refuses to marry him. Then the relatives are apt to favor marriage on the traditional argument of "giving the child a name." These relatives and members of child-welfare boards would not be so hopeful of marriage as a solution of the girl's difficulties if they knew a little more about the results of forced marriages.

For example, a girl who had an excellent reputation was persuaded to start proceedings for the establishment of paternity. The man's attitude was one of levity until he was arrested and his father was required to furnish \$200 bail. His parents were indignant because the girl had him arrested and were unwilling to pay more than \$300, plus \$60 for confinement. Knowing all these facts as well as the man's reputation for drinking and for working irregularly, the local officials permitted the girl to marry him even before paternity had been established. They might at least have safeguarded the economic situation in some way before allowing marriage. In a similar case paternity was established and a court order made, insured by a \$3,000 bond, and the man was told by the judge that if he failed to support the girl after he married her the payment of the support order would be enforced.

A study made in 1921 at the University of Minnesota of 133 unmarried mothers who had married showed numerous failures of

forced marriage. In less than one year after the marriages took place nearly one-third of the girls who married the fathers of their illegitimate children had experienced nonsupport, desertion, or divorce. One way of preventing some of these tragedies and safeguarding the girls would be to have as careful an investigation made before the marriage took place as is required by law before a child may be adopted. This is especially necessary if the child is to be a member of the family.

The records are full of instances in which the marriages of unmarried mothers have been approved by court officials and sometimes by child-welfare board members, although the chances for a successful marriage were very meager. For example, a man who was out on bail for draft evasion and had been ordered deported became involved with a girl and was adjudged the father of her child. A few months after the court decision he married the girl. In another instance a 35-year-old man who was being held on a \$2,000 bond for a carnal knowledge prosecution by a 17-year-old girl wanted to settle for \$500, but owing to the efforts of the county attorney and in opposition to the advice of the child-welfare board was allowed to marry the girl before the birth of the child.

Follow-up work.

Some of the boards are fulfilling the responsibility of supervision in cases in which paternity has been established, even when the girl and baby are outside of the State. A woman 23 years old returned to her parents' home in Wisconsin with the baby after paternity had been established and an order of \$12 per month made. The child-welfare board in charge of the case found that there was a county nurse near the girl's home who would be willing to supervise the expenditure of the money. Six months after the order was made the girl was receiving the money regularly and seemed to be readjusted in the community. The process had been assisted by her assuming the title of Mrs. and allowing the community to consider her married.

The legitimacy of this subterfuge may be open to discussion. In most instances the community is not deceived, especially if the girl has been there before her confinement. Often, however, the belief of the girl and her parents that the community does not know gives the girl more assurance in assuming her responsibilities. So far as the assumption of the title protects the girl from malicious gossip and the destructive criticism to which an unmarried mother is subjected, the action may be justified. The expedient, however, is probably more valuable if the girl and child are going into a new community sufficiently far from her own home to prevent meeting old friends than it would be where she is well known.

Another example of successful supervision outside of the State is found in the case of a 14-year-old girl. A 25-year-old man was found guilty of carnal knowledge, but sentence was suspended for as long as he continued to pay the court order of \$20 monthly. The man's father was willing to pay \$5,000 if the man might be allowed to marry the girl and a guardian be appointed for the child. The child-welfare board opposed the plan, although the judge and county attorney approved it. After paternity was established the girl's family moved out of the State. Through the district judge in the State to which they moved arrangements were made for supervision of the expenditure of the money. Six months after the order was made the man was paying regularly and the girl and baby were being well cared for at home.

Sometimes it is possible for a child-welfare board agent or member to continue friendly visiting after the marriage of the girl. In one case, such supervision had continued for a year after the marriage, which took place before the birth of the child and when the girl was only 17 years old. Such visiting is especially necessary if the home life of the girl before her marriage has been poor, as was true in this case. The girl's mother, who was intemperate and had had two illegitimate children herself, had deserted the family, and an older sister was also an unmarried mother.

Frequently the children's bureau representative in caring for an unmarried mother finds younger children in the family who are in danger of becoming delinquent. The chief difficulty in adopting any preventive measures in their behalf is the lack of social vision on the part of public officials whose assistance may be needed. It is almost impossible to make people who have not had experience in social work visualize the consequences of allowing a child to remain in a poor environment. For example, a 19-year-old mother gave birth to her second illegitimate child. Her mother, who had a poor reputation, was living with a disreputable man. A 13-year-old sister was already beginning to go out with boys. The man's attorney effected a settlement out of court of \$2,000, to be paid in five years. The child-welfare board asked the judge to remove both the baby and the 13-year-old sister from the home, but he refused.

Effective follow-up work and rehabilitation of the delinquent girl depends very largely upon the completeness of the information secured in the investigation. An inexperienced worker is, however, frequently unable to grasp that point until she has had a practical demonstration. Many child-welfare board members have carried over from their earlier concepts regarding illegitimacy an idea of the problem as one enshrouded in secrecy and mystery. They are apt to feel that the case in which they are interested is unusual and must not be investigated, and that the mother's wishes must take

precedence over the rights of the child. The fallacy of this argument is shown in the story of one girl with whom this policy was followed. When she came to the hospital she said that her father had died when she was a year old and that her mother had remarried. She had one brother. She gave two aliases and was most anxious that no investigation should be made. She refused to prosecute the man or even to notify him of her condition, telling a rather improbable assault story. The authorities at the hospital believed the girl's story and persuaded the child-welfare board to refrain from investigation. When the child was a few months old the girl disappeared and left the child. The hospital authorities then reported that she had been staying out late at night and one night did not come home at all.

Much of the follow-up work with unmarried mothers is being done by other agencies than the child-welfare boards, especially in the larger cities. Most of the maternity hospitals have social-service departments which take responsibility for the aftercare of illegitimate mothers confined there if the baby dies or is committed. A similar relationship exists between the child-welfare board in Minneapolis and several private social agencies, such as the Minneapolis Bureau of Catholic Charities, the Big Sister organization, and the Minneapolis Children's Protective Society. The last-named society arranges most of the boarding care for babies of unmarried mothers, so it is more logical for that organization to supervise the girls as well.

While this divided responsibility for the reeducation of unmarried mothers relieves the tremendous pressure of the case load of the child-welfare board, there are several very serious dangers in the plan. In the first place, private philanthropy is being required to assume a burden which should be met by public funds. A more serious danger, however, is the difficulty of maintaining the necessary standards for supervision of the girls when the work is carried on by so many different agencies. The aftercare work which some maternity homes are doing for the girls consists largely of securing employment. Some of the hospitals have failed to grasp the meaning of the legislation, and instead of cooperating with the child-welfare boards in the establishment of paternity and the securing of support for the children, they are urging the girls to place their children as soon as the three-month nursing period is over.

A step in the direction of standardization of methods would be regular conferences of the child-welfare board agents and the representatives of all the other agencies concerned with the follow-up work with unmarried mothers. Such conferences are now regularly held with the Minneapolis Children's Protective Society, and other agencies are invited in from time to time.

CHAPTER V. DIFFICULTIES IN ADMINISTRATION.

Some of the problems which the Minnesota Children's Bureau has had to meet in securing community cooperation have already been stated. More perplexing ones are to be found in the scheme of administration, of which the financial problem is perhaps the most difficult. From the point of view of the taxpayers the cost may seem large, while from the point of view of one who knows social work the budget is surprisingly low.

FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES IN SUPERVISION.

Probably the reason why the bills introduced in the legislature of 1917 met with so little opposition was that only two of them called for any appropriation. From January 1, 1918, the date on which the laws became effective, until July 1, 1918, the expense of the children's bureau was met from the general maintenance fund of the State board of control. The appropriation for the first year, July 1, 1918-June 30, 1919, was \$20,000. This amount covered the salary of the director and his three assistants, clerical help, traveling expenses, printing, stationery, and equipment. The following year two assistants were added to the staff and the budget was increased to \$25,000. Of this amount 40 per cent was required for traveling expenses, so it is easy to see that the salaries were not large.

The year 1920-21 was the first under the present scheme of organization: A director, a case supervisor, five field representatives, a supervisor of the feeble-minded, a supervisor of institutions, and adequate clerical help. The budget was \$32,000 for that year and was increased to \$35,000 for the year July 1, 1921-June 30, 1922. Traveling expenses amounted to \$6,700, or only 20 per cent of the total. Only two of the five field representatives have a salary as high as \$1,800. It is exceedingly difficult to secure a woman of adequate training and experience to undertake such exhausting work as that of a field representative for such a small salary.

It is interesting to compare the case load with the size of the staff. From January 1, 1918, to May 7, 1920, there was a total of 4,396 cases—an average of 162 new cases a month, or 7 a day. Such a number might not seem excessive for four people to handle if the cases were all located in the same city, but the work of the Minnesota Children's Bureau is spread over 84,682 square miles. In May, 1920, out of this total of 4,396 cases, 1,536 were still active. Four people

were trying to supervise that number of cases besides all the maternity hospitals and children's institutions.

The work developed so rapidly that in 1921 there were nearly 1,400 new illegitimacy cases to be supervised, not to mention all the feeble-minded, the adoptions, the placements, and the delinquent and dependent children. It might be possible for one case supervisor to oversee this amount of work if all the county workers were trained, skilled workers. Instead, the majority were untrained volunteers.

The financial difficulties are not limited to the budget of the children's bureau. In the business depression through which the country has been passing the farmers have suffered as seriously as any group. Therefore in a rural State like Minnesota the strictest economy in social work has been necessitated. Many communities in which public-health work was well started have had to dispense with the nurse and even with the county agent, and there has been very little opportunity to develop any new social projects like child welfare. Some of the northern counties have not recovered from the impoverishment caused by the fire and floods of 1918.

TRAINING OF PERSONNEL.

Next in importance to the financial difficulty is the problem of securing the most effective personnel for the boards and then training them at long distance. It is extremely difficult to find men and women with the necessary background and social point of view and with sufficient leisure to perform this task, and it is often difficult to keep out of the boards the type of woman who enjoys social prestige but is unwilling to do any work. Moreover, this type of work is apt to interfere with the business or professional interests of the board member or possibly of her husband. The young married woman in a small town is likely to have too many home duties to undertake the work, although she may be fitted for it by college education or by special training in social work, and the older woman may not have the physical strength to stand the long trips. In view of these handicaps it is quite remarkable that so many unusual men and women are devoting a large proportion of their time to the work without any compensation.

When a social agency in a city is anxious for volunteer service a training course for volunteers, meeting weekly throughout the winter, is advertised and the case supervisor has an opportunity to apply to this group the same methods of training as are used for paid visitors. The work of training the personnel of child-welfare boards must be done through four or five visits each year by the field representative and through correspondence. Obviously a longer period of time should be allowed in which to secure results.

The turnover in the personnel of the child-welfare boards is probably not any higher than that of other social agencies. The county commissioners all change once a year and the county superintendents change every four years; but in some instances ex officio members who have proved their interest and efficiency in the work have continued in it as appointed members.

POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES.

Another difficulty in administration is the political complications which always appear in public social work. In a problem like illegitimacy there are likely to be some men concerned who have more or less influence with the politicians. Attempts are continually being made through political influence to break down standards and make exceptions in special instances, and the State board of control and the director of the children's bureau must be constantly alert to see that all vacancies in the staff are filled by people who have real training for the position rather than by persons appointed for purely political reasons. Failure in these attempts often results in vigorous opposition to the whole law when the time comes to secure appropriations.

The county attorneys are the officials with whom the child-welfare boards have to work most closely in establishing paternity. In 1921 they were giving active support to the enforcement of this statute in 17 counties only. A small group who are more or less indifferent will act only under pressure. Sometimes the difficulty lies in the tradition of small settlements out of court, or marriage, as the simplest solution of any illegitimacy problem.

The experience with one county attorney illustrates a common situation. In 1919, he was sure the law would be abolished because the board of control wanted too much money. He thought \$500 was ample, and usually appointed the mother as guardian. The child-welfare board in his county decided to do something. Each member took one unmarried-mother case and made a complete investigation; then they "bothered" the county attorney until each of these cases was listed for court hearing. He did not take time to prepare any of the cases, so when the board at the last minute offered him the results of their investigations he was very grateful. On the basis of this information he was able to win every one of the five cases, and since then there has been no difficulty in getting him to prosecute.

It is interesting to note that a man is not required to be a lawyer in order to hold the position of county attorney. In one county a banker serves in this capacity. Since the position involves so much

responsibility in administering social legislation, it is essential that a man or woman of high principles and genuine public spirit be elected. In counties where this fact is not yet realized it may well be made a part of the educational program of the child-welfare board.

The judges are the next group of public officials with whom the boards must work most closely. Paternity cases and criminal charges are brought before the district judges. In cities of the first class the juvenile courts are branches of the district court. In the counties the juvenile-court work is handled by the probate judge, with whom, consequently, the child-welfare boards need to cooperate. The complaints and preliminary hearings are under the jurisdiction of the justices of the peace in the rural districts and of the municipal judges in the cities. While it is valuable to know these men, county attorneys whose confidence has been gained will inform the board of illegitimacy cases brought before them.

A variety of types are found in the position of probate judge. Like the county attorney, the probate judge is not required to have legal training. About one-fourth of the probate judges cooperated closely with the boards and gave them advice. A number had to be urged to act, and nearly one-fourth actively opposed child-welfare work either by preventing the organization of a board or by refusing to profit by the results of the board's investigations.

The county commissioners were usually the last county officials to be convinced of the value of child-welfare work, perhaps because they have so many duties which seem more urgent. Since they are responsible for the expenditure of funds and for the levying of taxes, they are especially sensitive to the will of the people, and it is quite natural for them to be hesitant about voting money for a new project unless they are sure the taxpayers will stand for increased taxes and incidentally will reelect them. Besides this the child-welfare boards, especially those having executive agents, have not always devoted enough thought to methods of educating the commissioners as to the value of the work. For this reason the commissioners of one county of which the estimated wealth is \$80,000 refused to continue the salary of an executive agent, although at the same time they made an appropriation of \$2,000 for the stock industry. A better attitude is shown by some county boards. When the child-welfare board members in one county became discouraged and asked the county commissioners to disband them because the work was too heavy, the county board voted to pay for an executive secretary. This action was especially significant because the party in power in the county was not that of the State administration.

CHAPTER VI. FURTHER DEVELOPMENT NEEDED.

A plan for further development in any social undertaking may be more or less ideal, expressing the goal toward which the organization is striving, or it may consist of a few definite steps which are within the realm of possibility but conditioned by the present status of the law and by its administration.

Further progress in Minnesota depends somewhat upon the situation in other States. The obstacles which interstate migration offers to the proper treatment of cases arising in this State have already been discussed.¹ The migration problem can be properly handled only through cooperative action between States, and the essential condition of its solution is more uniformity in legislation throughout the country. The efforts of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws represent the most effective work in this field. If the States adjoining Minnesota had organizations making possible an exchange of cases the size of Minnesota's task would not be diminished, but the State would be spending its energies more exclusively on its own cases, and the chances for successful prosecutions would be increased because more of the putative fathers would be residents of the State in which the girl was being provided for.

CHANGES IN COURT PROCEDURE.

So far as Minnesota itself is concerned, needed improvements in procedure fall into two classes, those that affect the State as a whole and all unmarried mothers, and those which concern certain sections or portions of the State and small groups of the girls. Of changes in the first of these two classes, that most needed relates to court procedure. The ordeal to which both the girl and the man are subjected by the present method of trial in court deserves a severe indictment. Even when the judges are careful to clear the court room at both hearings the prosecution at present is an experience from which a young girl may well shrink. The whole organization of the courts for the handling of the problem of illegitimacy needs revision. It is obviously inefficient to have unmarried mothers pass through three different courts, especially when there is no central record system for all courts. The preliminary hearing, the proceedings to establish paternity, the commitment of the girl or the child, the nonsupport action against the father, should all be handled by the same judge;

¹ See pp. 206-208.

or, if this is impossible, each judge should have a complete record of all previous court action in the case. Each judge, also, should have at his command the services of a trained investigator who can secure complete social data. Such a reorganization of the courts would improve the cooperation between the child-welfare board and the court, and by a division of labor acceptable to both might relieve the child-welfare agents of some investigation, allowing them to devote more time to constructive aftercare of the girls.

During the three months' nursing period every unmarried mother should have a complete psychiatric examination. This would include more than intelligence tests—frequently the most puzzling and difficult cases are those of normally intelligent girls—and would give the agents and board members scientific judgments on which to plan the reconstruction of the girl's life. As the majority of the girls receive confinement care in the Twin Cities, it would be fairly easy to arrange for psychiatric examinations for all if there were a hospital in Minneapolis. Girls confined in the rural sections could be brought in for examination in the same way in which patients from all over the State are now brought in by the children's bureau to the hospital of the University of Minnesota. The university hospital is a State institution and the proposed psychopathic hospital would be in the same class.

Of course a mental examination of any girl after she reaches a maternity hospital is like trying to repair the dam after the flood has occurred, but it will undoubtedly be a long time before the rural communities of any State see the necessity for mental examinations of all school children before they reach the age of adolescence. If Minnesota could follow the example of Massachusetts in providing a comprehensive program of community care and supervision of the feeble-minded, many illegitimate births could be prevented.

There is also need for a change in the law regarding the commitment of the feeble-minded which will specify that the examining physicians shall have had special training in the diagnosis of mental disease or that the services of a psychologist shall be required.

MEETING THE RURAL PROBLEM.

The suggestions made so far affect unmarried mothers from all parts of the State, but since such a large proportion of the 1921 cases came from outside the larger cities (nearly 1,000 out of 1,385) the problem seems to be in large part a rural and small-town one. So many books have been written on the rural problem and so many suggestions have been offered as solutions that one hesitates to add to the collection for fear of repetition. Certain rural conditions in the State undoubtedly have a causal connection with the illegitimacy

problem, and remedies for the latter must involve a consideration of these conditions.

The administration of the rural schools, the enforcement of the compulsory school attendance law, and the training and qualifications of teachers should be improved. The school attendance law should be revised so as to make it impossible for the parents of any child living in the country to keep him out of school from April 1 until November 1 because his services are needed at home.

In one county the truancy situation was so serious in 1921 that the children for whom the schools were securing no apportionment because they were not in school 40 days throughout the school year numbered 608. In another county there was no way of discovering how much truancy existed, as no school census was kept.

These needed changes should be incorporated in the education law. The next move should be a plan to raise the educational standards for rural teachers. A plan for accomplishing this object is now being developed in Pennsylvania, where in 1927 no one will be teaching in the public schools who has not had a four-year high-school course and two years of normal-school training or the equivalent. Out of 46,000 teachers in the whole State of Pennsylvania, 22,000 were attending summer schools in 1922.

After the improvement of the rural schools in Minnesota, the next greatest need is for more constructive family case work in the small towns and rural districts. There are two possible lines of development in this field. The child-welfare boards may gradually increase their powers so as to become county-welfare boards, or in some of the more prosperous counties another organization financed from private funds may develop. In the one case the growth of case work in county after county will be dependent upon the education of the community to its need and the formation of public demand for it; in the other case the attempt will be made to intensify all over the State the efforts at case work now being made through the child-welfare boards. The extension of the powers of the child-welfare boards to include the administration of relief^{*} is already under discussion, and as the law now stands the judge of probate may ask assistance of the board in supervising recipients of county allowances. It will be unfortunate if the extension of power comes to the boards before they are thoroughly grounded in case-work principles, for in the hands of the inexperienced relief is a dangerous instrument.

In one county not including any large city there is a case-work organization privately financed and separate from the child-welfare

^{*} By a 1923 law the boards may cooperate in administering relief with public bodies charged with administering the relief laws.

board, and in a few other counties a fusion of interest and support has been effected between the Red Cross and the county organization. The latter usually means that the Red Cross pays for a trained social worker or nurse who is allowed to devote some of her time to the work of the child-welfare board and in some instances holds the position of executive secretary of that organization. It is too soon as yet to pass final judgment as to which method of developing family case work is the more effective. There are obstacles to both plans, but the need for the family work is so great that it is probably desirable to allow either method to develop in any given situation.

Raising the standards for the county officials most concerned with child-welfare work should have a wholesome effect toward preventing illegitimacy. If the positions of county attorney and probate judge could be filled by men with socialized legal training there would be an improvement in the matter of law enforcement. Possibly the local and State bar associations might become interested in discussing the qualifications for these two county offices and in making recommendations to the legislature. Such details of prosecution as clearing the court room in illegitimacy trials or pushing carnal-knowledge prosecutions should be cared for throughout the State as they now are in the counties where the positions of county attorney and probate judge are held by men of the highest qualifications.

Of course it is desirable that prospective county officials receive socialized legal training while they are still in the university. A start in this direction is the field work which law students at the University of Minnesota are required to do in cooperation with the Legal Aid Society of Minneapolis; but all those who are planning to practice in rural Minnesota need also the courses offered by the university in child welfare and legal protection of the child, which explain the value and organization of the child-welfare boards.

EDUCATION AND RECREATION.

A problem which concerns both rural and urban girls and demands far more time and thought than has so far been spent on it in Minnesota is the education of unmarried mothers. The case records of 1921 have shown that the majority of these girls come from the unskilled and semiskilled occupations and are therefore poorly equipped to support their children or even to contribute to the children's support. The majority of them, unless special vocational guidance is given them, drift back into the occupations in which they were employed when they became delinquents. Under

such circumstances it is not strange that many return a year or two later to the maternity hospitals for a second confinement.

The fact that most of the girls who have a second illegitimate child come from the group who were allowed to give up the first child through either placement or adoption suggests the advisability of enabling every girl who has normal intelligence to keep her baby. The usual method of accomplishing this is to place the girl with the baby in a position at general housework. The unmarried mothers of Minnesota usually spend in maternity homes the three-month period during which they are required to nurse their babies, but at the end of that period not many are physically able to stand the strain of general housework and the care of the child. The effect of fatigue upon a nursing mother is well known, and yet the service positions in which a girl can have adequate rest are very few.

An objection to housework for unmarried mothers which is more serious than the physical is the lack of companionship, especially in the hours of recreation. The average unmarried mother, 18 or 19 years old, after a fatiguing day at housework needs recreation which will not be overstimulating and which will furnish her with incentives to improve her economic condition. In a city it is easier to find the recreation than it is to find the proper companions. The unmarried mother from the small town may know in the city only the girls she has met at the maternity hospital or home. Whether the ones who are there at the time of her confinement will be safe companions for her is a matter of chance.

The two possible solutions to this dilemma are such expensive ones that they will have to be tried out by private philanthropy before the State can be persuaded to take them over. The first solution is being tried out in England at the present time. Boarding homes are being established where unmarried mothers may remain with their babies until the children are 2 years old. The babies are cared for in a day nursery, and the mothers go out to work during the day. The mothers are relieved of the added care of the children both by day and at night, and in the evening they can have supervised recreation with girls of their own age. The objection that these girls may not be the right sort of companions is partially met by the second part of the solution, which is education. Many of the unmarried mothers have had no high-school or vocational training or have not completed their high-school work. Girls not over 20 years of age are certainly young enough to profit by more education, either academic or vocational, and psychiatric examinations will reveal which ones have mental ability. The incentive to learn some trade or profession which would enable them to keep their children would go a long way toward absorbing the natural emotional excitement

of girls with sex experience. There is need in Minnesota for experiments of this sort with the most promising of the unmarried mothers. An opportunity to win back the respect of the community requires more intensive case work with each girl than the child-welfare boards have been able to perform. The failure in aftercare work has been caused in part by inadequacy of staff, but more directly by lack of vision and imagination. Further progress in solving the illegitimacy problem in Minnesota depends upon the use of such vision and imagination as will supplement law enforcement with constructive education.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A.

ILLEGITIMACY IN VARIOUS STATES AND CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

TABLE 1.—*Number and per cent of live births reported illegitimate, by State; live births in 28 States of the United States: 1910-1920.*¹

State. ²	Live births reported illegitimate, 1919.		Per cent of live births reported illegitimate.						
	Number.	Per cent.	Annual average, 1910-1914.	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920
Alabama:									
White.....	260	0.9	.....	1.0	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.9	1.1
Negro.....	1,642	11.6	.....	14.1	13.7	12.8	10.0	11.6	14.4
Connecticut.....	334	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.9	1.1	1.0	1.1
Indiana.....	900	1.5	1.6	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.5
Kansas.....	266	.7	.....	.....	.....	1.7	1.6	1.7	1.7
Kentucky:									
White.....	531	1.0	.....	.....	.....	1.0	1.7	1.0	1.0
Negro.....	424	10.4	.....	.....	.....	1.5	1.6	10.4	11.4
Maine.....	176	1.1	.....	.....	.....	1.0	1.8	1.1	1.3
Maryland:									
White.....	510	1.9	1.3	2.4	2.2	1.7	1.8	1.9	1.7
Negro.....	1,176	18.0	15.2	20.7	20.5	17.1	17.1	18.0	19.5
Massachusetts.....	844	1.0	.....	2.3	.....	1.8	1.7	1.0	.....
Michigan.....	1,108	1.3	1.6	1.7	.....	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.5
Minnesota.....	910	1.8	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.9	1.8	1.8
Missouri.....	1,785	2.9	2.4	2.1	2.2	2.4	2.3	2.9	3.0
Nevada.....	6	.5	1.8	.9	1.9	1.0	.3	.5	.7
New Hampshire.....	95	1.1	1.0	.8	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.3
New York.....	2,268	1.1	.....	.....	.....	1.0	1.9	1.0	1.0
North Carolina:									
White.....	766	1.5	.....	.....	.....	1.6	1.4	1.5	1.7
Negro.....	2,521	11.5	.....	.....	.....	12.5	11.4	11.5	12.8
Ohio.....	1,689	1.5	.....	.....	.....	1.3	1.3	1.5	1.6
Oklahoma:									
White.....	231	.8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.8	.....
Negro.....	44	6.1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6.1	.....
Indian.....	14	2.5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.5	.....
Oregon.....	188	1.4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.4	1.4
Pennsylvania.....	3,933	1.9	.....	2.0	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.9	2.1
Rhode Island.....	186	1.3	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.4	1.3	.....
South Carolina:									
White.....	372	1.7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.7	2.0
Negro.....	3,066	13.6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	13.6	14.1
South Dakota.....	121	.9	.8	.8	.9	.9	.7	.9	.7
Texas.....	704	1.2	.....	1.0	1.0	1.2	.....	1.2	1.8
White.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.6	.....	.....	.....
Negro.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.8	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	102	.8	1.7	.8	.7	.7	1.8	.8	.8
Vermont.....	170	2.4	1.7	1.9	1.4	1.8	1.3	1.9	1.8
Virginia:									
White.....	783	1.9	.....	.....	.....	2.0	1.8	1.8	2.0
Negro.....	2,628	13.8	.....	.....	.....	14.3	13.3	13.0	12.9
Washington.....	245	1.0	.....	.....	.....	1.9	1.8	1.0	1.2
Wisconsin.....	673	1.2	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.2	1.5

¹ Unless otherwise indicated, the data were furnished by State departments of health and bureaus of vital statistics. For some States it was impossible to determine whether the figure reported for births and especially that reported for illegitimate births included or did not include stillbirths.

² In 1920 all these States excepting Alabama, Missouri, Nevada, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Dakota, and Texas were in the United States birth-registration area.

³ U. S. Bureau of the Census, Birth Statistics for the Birth Registration Area of the United States, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920. Washington, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922.

⁴ Average based on three-year period 1912-1914.

⁵ Average based on two-year period 1913-1914.

⁶ Average based on four-year period 1911-1914.

TABLE 2.—*Number and per cent of live births reported illegitimate, by city, 1910-1920; live births in 21 cities of the United States having more than 100,000 population.¹*

City.	Live births reported illegitimate in 1920.		Per cent of live births reported illegitimate.						
	Num-ber.	Per cent.	Annual average 1910-1914.	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920
Baltimore, Md.:									
White.....	210	1.3	3.8	3.1	2.6	2.1	2.5	1.7	1.3
Negro.....	621	21.8	23.3	24.5	22.7	21.6	23.1	20.9	21.8
Boston, Mass.....			4.1	4.6					
Buffalo, N. Y.....	252	1.9	² 2.0	2.1	2.2	2.5	1.8	2.2	1.9
Cincinnati, Ohio.....	225	2.9	3.7	3.8	2.8	2.3	2.6	3.0	2.9
Cleveland, Ohio.....			2.3	2.3			1.2		
Denver, Colo.....	152	3.2	³ 3.0	2.8	2.9	3.6	4.0	3.4	3.2
Detroit, Mich.....	⁴ 649	2.2	² 2.7	2.6	2.1	2.0	1.9	1.7	2.2
Grand Rapids, Mich.....	105	3.2	² 2.7	3.7	4.1	3.4	2.9	3.2	3.2
Hartford, Conn.....	91	2.2	2.2	1.8	1.9	1.9	2.1	1.7	2.2
Kansas City, Mo.....	842	13.6	⁵ 6.1	6.1	6.2	7.9	8.2	11.9	13.6
Milwaukee, Wis.....	⁴ 294	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.8	2.6	2.3	2.5	2.7
Minneapolis, Minn.....	371	4.0	² 4.4	4.3	4.0	4.0	3.8	3.3	3.9
Newark, N. J.....			1.5	1.4	1.3	1.1			
New York, N. Y.....	1,427	1.1	1.4	1.2	1.1	1.0		1.1	1.1
Philadelphia, Pa.....	1,077	2.6	⁶ 2.5	2.7	2.4	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.6
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	405	2.8	⁷ 3.6	3.0				2.9	2.8
Providence, R. I.....	114	1.8	2.2	2.1	1.7	2.1	2.1	1.6	1.8
St. Louis, Mo.....	535	3.7	⁶ 4.3	3.7	3.9	3.6	3.6	4.2	3.7
St. Paul, Minn.....	202	3.9	4.5	5.1	4.5	5.0	3.8	4.1	3.9
Toledo, Ohio.....	108	2.0	² 2.5	2.6	1.7	1.8	1.8	2.0	2.0
Washington, D. C.:									
White.....	129	2.0	2.1	2.3	1.6	2.3	1.4	1.8	2.0
Negro.....	402	15.9	20.9	19.5	18.2	18.8	15.9	17.0	15.9

¹ The data were furnished by State or city departments of health or bureaus of vital statistics.² Average based on two-year period 1913-14.³ Average based on three-year period 1912-1914.⁴ Including stillbirths. The percentages would have been slightly lower had stillbirths been excluded.⁵ Average based on four-year period 1911-1914.⁶ Rate for 1914.⁷ Average based on reports for four years—1910-1914, omitting 1912.

APPENDIX B.

COMPARATIVE DATA FROM STUDIES OF ILLEGITIMACY AS A CHILD-WELFARE PROBLEM BY THE U. S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU.

TABLE 1.—*Age of mother at birth of child, nativity, race, and marital condition at birth of child, by study and locality; mothers in selected groups.*

Study and locality.	Mothers in selected groups.								
	Reporting age at birth of child.						Reporting nativity.		
	Num-ber.	Per cent.					Num-ber.	Per cent.	
		Under 18 years.	18-20 years.	21-24 years.	25 years and over.	Native.		For-eign.	
Under 16 years.	16-17 years.								
Sections of Massachusetts study:									
Boston: Births in one year.....	792	2	12	30	33	23	833	60	40
Boston: Children under care of social agencies..	1,923	2	9	26	31	32	2,213	55	45
Massachusetts State wards.....	1,046	3	12	27	28	30	1,201	55	45
State correctional institutions—mothers under care.....	1 212	8	23	37	17	15	213	77	23
State infirmary.....	2 193	2	7	22	37	32	193	28	72
Rural seacoast.....	93	2	17	35	30	16	101	91	9
Schedule studies:									
Boston.....	402	5	13	32	30	20	401	63	37
Philadelphia.....	588	5	17	36	25	17	627	81	19
Milwaukee.....	266	3	11	42	32	12	243	89	11
New York City agency.....	243	2	11	30	36	21	243	49	51
Eighteen counties of New York State.....	123	9	15	24	22	30	120	88	12
Infant mortality study, Baltimore.....	5 1,119	5	16	6 25	7 33	21	5 679	97	3

Study and locality.	Mothers in selected groups—Continued.								
	Reporting race.			Reporting marital condition at birth of child.					
	Num-ber.	Per cent.		Num-ber.	Per cent.				
		White.	Col-ored.		Single.	Mar-ried.	Wid-owed.	Di-vorced, sepa-rated, or des-erted.	
Sections of Massachusetts study:									
Boston: Births in one year.....	840	94	6	718	93	2	2	3	
Boston: Children under care of social agencies.....	2,837	95	5	2,352	85	2	4	9	
Massachusetts State wards.....	1,695	93	7	1,459	79	2	5	14	
State correctional institutions—mothers under care.....	213	91	9	220	64	11	5	20	
State infirmary.....	193	94	6	193	85	.....	3 15	.....
Rural seacoast.....	103	79	21	100	87	6	4 7	.....
Schedule studies:									
Boston.....	401	93	7	399	91	3	2	4	
Philadelphia.....	616	77	23	603	88	1	3	8	
Milwaukee.....	.....	.....	.....	267	94	2	1	3	
New York City agency.....	243	89	11	243	93	.....	3	4	
Eighteen counties of New York State.....	120	93	7	125	77	3	7	13	
Infant mortality study, Baltimore.....	6 1,124	37	63	5 668	86	2	4 12	.....

¹ Age at birth of first illegitimate child.

² Age at birth of oldest child included in the study.

³ Including married, widowed, divorced, separated, or deserted.

⁴ Including widowed, divorced, separated, or deserted.

⁵ Including both stillbirths and miscarriages.

⁶ 18-19 years.

⁷ 20-24 years.

TABLE 2.—*Character and mentality of mother, and other children of illegitimate birth, by study and locality; mothers in selected groups.*

Study and locality.	Mothers in selected groups.																	
	Reporting character.				Reporting mentality.				Reporting other children of illegitimate birth.									
	Per cent.				Num-ber.	Per cent.			Num-ber.	Per cent.								
	Good, so far as known (including not reported).	Im-moral.	Alco-holic.	Alco-holic and im-moral.		Other-wise delin-quent.	Other-wise poor.	Nor-mal, so far as known (in-clud-ing not reported).		Diag-nosed mind-sub-normal, or insane.	Prob-ably sub-normal.	None.	One.	Two.	Three.	Four and over.	Not re-ported.	
Sections of Massachusetts study:																		
Boston: Births in one year.....	840	75	17	1	1	5	488	78	13	9	840	91	6	2	1			
Boston: Children under care of social agencies.....	2,178	46	36	2	10	1	2,178	82	11	7	2,863	74	8	5	2	3		
Massachusetts State wards.....	1,721	46	39	3	8		1,721	82	11	7	1,721	65	18	117				
State correctional institutions—mothers under care.....	220		45	7		48	210	59	12	29	220	69	18	8	2	3		
State infirmary.....	193	36	56	2	8		193	74	26		193	60		1	40			
Rural seacoast.....	103	(¹)	58	(¹)	(¹)	(¹)	103	64	13	23								
Schedule studies:																		
Boston.....	403	69	26	1	(¹)	4	403	80	15	5	403	88	10	1	(¹)			
Philadelphia.....	629	66	28	(¹)	1		629	92	6	2	629	86	11	2	1	(¹)		
Milwaukee.....	271	74	20		1	5	271	91	4	5	271	90	8	3				
New York City agency.....	243	59	33	(¹)	2	(¹)	243	89	10	1	243	86	11	3				
Eighteen counties of New York State.....	125	39	38	4		18	125	77	16	7	125	78	15	3	1	3		

¹ More than one, exact number not reported.² Alcoholic, delinquent, or otherwise poor.³ No information secured.⁴ Less than 1 per cent.

TABLE 3.—*Status of mother's parental home, age at leaving home, and occupation previous to birth of child, by study and locality; mothers in selected groups.*

Mothers in selected groups.																
Reporting status of mother's parental home.					Age at leaving home.					Number reporting occupation previous to birth of child.						
Per cent.					Per cent distribution.					Per cent.						
Broken.					Num-ber.	Under 14 years.	14-15 years.	16-17 years.	18 years and over.	Num-ber.	Profes-sional, pre-prie-tors, man-agers.	Cleri-cal occu-pa-tions.	Semi-skilled work-ers.	Serv-ants.	Other.	No gain-ful.
Num-ber.	Nor-mal.	Total.	One par-ent dead.	Par-ents di-voiced or sep-arated, or par-ent de-serted.													Both par-ents in United States.	Par-ents never in United States.
Study and locality.																
Sections of Massachusetts study:																
Boston: Births in one year.....																
Boston: Children under care of social agencies.....																
Massachusetts State wards.....																
Rural southeast.....																
Schedule studies:																
Boston:																
Philadelphia.....																
Milwaukee.....																
New York City (one agency).....																
Rural New York.....																

¹ Less than 1 per cent.² Occupation at time of application for care.³ Status at time of inquiry.

TABLE 4.—*Age, nativity, race, and marital condition of father, by study and locality; fathers in selected groups.*

Fathers in selected groups.																			
Study and locality.	Reporting age at birth of child.						Reporting nativity.			Reporting race.			Reporting marital condition at birth of child.						
	Num- ber.	Per cent.					Num- ber.	Per cent.		Num- ber.	Per cent.		Num- ber.	Per cent.					
		Under 18 years.	Under 21 years.	21-29 years.	30-39 years.	40-59 years.		60 years and over.	Na- tive.		For- eign.	White.		Col- ored.					
Sections of Massachusetts study:																			
Boston: Births in one year.....	285	4	21	58	16	4	1	234	47	53	817	3	237	69	21	1	10	.....
Boston: Children under care of social agencies.....	599	3	17	52	19	11	1	608	35	65	2,765	96	4	785	58	24	5	13	
State infirmary.....	67		9	72	2	19								119	72	20	3	5	
Schedule studies:																			
Boston.....	125	4	23	59	15	2	1	106	71	29	125	94	6	144	72	21	1	6	
Philadelphia.....	317	7	28	54	13	5		395	83	17	586	81	19	414	73	19	2	6	
Milwaukee.....	193	1	16	66	13	4	1	144	81	19				170	85	12	1	2	
New York City agency.....	213		13	68	14	5		224	43	57				233	80	18	1	1	
Eighteen counties of New York State.....	53		19	40	13	17	11	94	88	12				81	58	36	6		
Infant mortality study, Baltimore.....	933	2	3	66	17	6		1,109	38	62									

* Including widowed, divorced, separated, or deserted.

* Including all 30 years and over.

* Under 20 years.

* 20-29 years.

* 40 years and over.

TABLE 5.—Occupation of father, contributions to support, and arrangements for support, by study and locality; fathers in selected groups.

Fathers in selected groups.																			
Study and locality.		Reporting occupation at birth of child.						Reporting contributions to support—informal and through court action.						Reporting arrangements for support.					
		Per cent.						Per cent.						Per cent.					
		Num-ber.	Pro-fes-sion-al, pri-or, offi-cials, man-agers.	Clerks and sales-work-men.	Skill-ed work-ers.	Semi-skill-ed work-ers.	Offi-cial and semi-offi-cial pub-lic employ-ees.	La-bor-ers.	Oth-ers.	No gain-ful.	Num-ber.	No con-tributions, or none re-ported.	Con-tributing ex-ces-ports-only.	Lump sum.	Con-tributing con-trib-utions.	Mar-ried.	Liv-ing as mar-ried.	Oth-er.	Num-ber.
No court action or none re-ported.	Pro-vi-sion made.																		
Sections of Massachusetts study:																			
Boston: Births in one year.....																			
Boston: Children under care of social agencies.....																			
State infirmary.....																			
Schedule studies:																			
Boston.....																			
Philadelphia.....																			
Milwaukee.....																			
New York City agency.....																			
Eighteen counties of New York State.....																			
Infant mortality study, Baltimore.....																			

* Including both cash and continuing contributions.

† Less than 1 per cent.

TABLE 6.—Age of child at time of application to first agency giving prolonged care, age at time of separation from mother, and proportion of life spent with mother, by study and locality; children in selected groups.¹

Study and locality.	Children in selected groups—															
	For whom age at time of application to agency was reported.								For whom age at time of separation from mother was reported.							
	Per cent.								Per cent.							
	Unborn.	Under 1 month.	1 month.	2 months.	3-5 months.	6-11 months.	12 months and over.	Number.	Under 1 month.	1 month.	2 months.	3-5 months.	6-11 months.	12 months and over.	Total.	Entire time.
Boston.....	409	18	9	3	5	6	2	881	20	22	13	19	22	4	145	48
Philadelphia.....	57	15	12	3	7	4	1	69	26	16	6	23	19	10	201	77
Milwaukee.....	299	54	19	12	3	4	1	135	45	19	16	49	8	3	118	37
New York City agency.....	247	34	13	9	13	5	5	61	10	10	11	25	23	21	190	72
Eighteen counties of New York State.....	122	24	11	4	11	12	2	49	39	.....	539	.....	618	4	.....	.....

¹ Studies include children who came under care during the year Oct. 1, 1916-Sept. 30, 1917, and who were not more than 1 year of age at the beginning, or less than 6 months of age at the end of that period. In the case of Boston, the period covered was Sept. 1, 1915-Aug. 31, 1916.

² Including children aged 6 months and over at close of care or end of period.

³ Including babies 2 and 3 months of age.

⁴ Including only babies 4 and 5 months of age.

⁵ Including babies from 1 to 6 months of age.

⁶ Including babies from 7 to 12 months of age.

APPENDIX C.—FORMS.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.
CHILDREN'S BUREAU.
WASHINGTON.

SCHEDULE FOR STUDY OF ILLEGITIMACY.

[Covering all cases of illegitimate infants dealt with from to Inclusive, except those over 1 year of age at beginning of period, and those who will be less than 6 months of age at end of period.]

1. Agency reporting: 2. Location: Agency case number: ..
3. Date of birth of child: 4. Sex: 5. Birthplace:
6. Child's first name and initial of surname:
7. Mother's first name and initial of surname:
8. Date of application: 9. Place in which made: 10. Source:
11. Mother's whereabouts at application: At home; boarding; maternity hospital or home; other (specify):
12. Reason for application: 13. Kind of aid requested:
14. Length of time under care: 15. Case closed—date: 16. Reason: ...
17. Later applications (if case was closed and later reopened; give dates and reasons):

MOTHER.

18. Date of birth: 19. Birthplace: 20. Nationality: 21. Race: ..
22. Legal residence: 23. Present residence:
24. Length of time in U. S.: 25. Time in State:
26. Time in place of application:
27. Legitimate: Illegitimate: Adopted: Foster:
28. Civil condition (at time of birth of child): Single; married; widowed; deserted; separated; divorced:
29. Marital history:
30. Marriage subsequent to birth of child: 31. Date:
32. To father of child:
33. Mother's mode of living at time of application (if in institution or hospital, boarded by agency, or in other temporary abode, give previous mode of living)—parental home; own home; with relatives; with friends; boarding; domestic service; other:
(Specify.)
34. If mother has been away from home state fully age of leaving and under what conditions she has lived, with dates:
- 35.* Character of family and home life (specify size of family; financial circumstances; social characteristics of home life; boarders; dates of breaking up home, loss of parent or parents; step-parent; intemperance, disease, immorality, delinquency, etc., of any member of family):

* This applies to mother's parental home, except when she is married, widowed, deserted, divorced, when it should be answered for both her parental home and her own home, if possible.

[Page 2 of schedule.]

36. Age at leaving school: 37. Grade: 38. Reason for leaving:
 39. Special training, trade, etc.: 40. Age beginning work:

41. Occupations of Mother.

	Occupation.	Industry.	Wage per week.	Time in job.	Reason for leaving.
Previous to birth of child.	1. ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	2. ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	3. ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	4. ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	5. ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	6. ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
After birth of child.	1. ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	2. ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	3. ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	4. ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	5. ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	6. ....	.....	.....	.....	.....

42. Date of ceasing gainful work before confinement:
 43. Date of resuming after confinement:
 44. Apparent capability as a worker (including information from employers):
 45. Physical condition: Dates of examinations by—general practitioner;
 dispensary or clinic; other
 46. Diagnoses, with dates (specifying particularly nature and results of tests for
 gonorrhea, syphilis, etc.)
 47. Physical defects—deaf; blind; crippled;
 deformed; other
 48. Mentality: Dates of examinations by—psychopathic or nerve clinic;
 alienist; specialist in feeble-mindedness;
 general practitioner
 49. Diagnoses: Normal; subnormal (state degree)
 50. Past reputation and known character (including character of relations with
 father of child):

 51. Institutional record (specify, with dates, residence in any institution for the
 destitute and neglected, delinquent, physically defective, feeble-minded,
 insane):

 52. Known to what agencies, kind of aid given; court record:

 53. Paternity of other illegitimate children—same as of infant under consideration
 Number of different fathers:

[Page 3 of schedule.]

54. Children.

[Not including infant under consideration.]

Child.	Legitimate or illegitimate.	Date of birth.	Place of birth.	Time kept with mother.	Present disposition (if dead, age at death and cause).	By whom supported.	Agencies interested.	Abnormalities or defects.
1.								
2.								
3.								
4.								
5.								
6.								
7.								

FATHER (of infant under consideration).

55. Identity known?..... 56. Date of birth:..... 57. Birthplace:.....
 58. Nationality:..... 59. Race:.....
 60. Residence:..... 61. Civil condition (at birth of child):.....
 62. If married, composition of family:.....
 63. Occupation:..... 64. Wages or income:.....
 65. Physical condition—examination by; date; diagnosis.....
 66. Physical defects—deaf; blind; crippled; deformed.....; other.....
 67. Mentality—examination by; date; diagnosis.....
 68. Reputation and known character (including economic efficiency, record of delinquency, etc.):.....

 69. Contributions to support of child: (1) Informal support (dates, nature, amount):..
 (2) Court action initiated by what agency.....;
 date:.....
 (3) Results of court action—(a) Support order; amount collected,
 with inclusive dates.....

 (b) Settlement; amount collected, with dates.....
 (c) Other (including cases withdrawn, dismissed, pending, with dates):....

PRENATAL AND CONFINEMENT CARE.

70. Mother living where and how supported during pregnancy (include length of time before birth of child in maternity hospital or home):.....
 71. Care and advice given by—physician.....; midwife.....; clinic or dispensary.....; infant welfare or visiting nurse.....; hospital outpatient department.....; other (specify).....
 72. For how long a period:..... 73. Place of confinement—own home.....; relative's home.....; maternity hospital.....; maternity home.....; almshouse.....; other (specify).....
 74. Medical service at birth—physician.....; midwife.....; none.....
 75. Confinement expenses paid by—mother.....; father of infant.....; relatives.....; private charitable funds.....; public funds.....; given free.....
 76. Length of time in maternity hospital or home after birth of child:.....

BABY.

77. Birth registered—legitimate.....; illegitimate.....; not registered.....
78. Baby breast-fed by mother:..... For how long:..... If not breast-fed by
mother, reason:.....
79. Efforts made to teach mother how to feed and care for infant:

[Page 4 of schedule.]

80. Ability of mother to care for child (specify whether able physically, mentally, morally, and financially):.....
81. Physical condition of baby (medical examination by whom; date; diagnosis; etc.):.....

82. Disposition.

[Give a complete history of the baby's whereabouts, in chronological order, from birth. If the information is lacking for certain dates, give the dates and state "unknown."]

[illegible]

83. If child died during period covered, date of death:..... Cause:.....

84. Supervision.

[illegible]

85. Summary of work of agency on case (relief given family, prosecution of father, employment found for mother, supervision, etc.):.....

86. Other agencies handling this case (specify, and give dates and treatment wherever possible):.....

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
Washington.

ILLEGITIMACY CASE.

[Card for all cases of the Children's Bureau age classification known to agencies or institutions Oct. 1, 1916, to Oct. 1, 1917, whether or not given care or extended investigation.]

Agency..... Schedule case—yes, no; Schedule No....

Child:

Name.....

Sex..... Color.....

Date of birth.....

Place of birth.....

Mother:

Name.....

Age..... Color.....

Nativity.....

Civil status.....

Residence.....

Occupation.....

Date of application..... Aid requested.....

If refused, reason.....

Referred to.....

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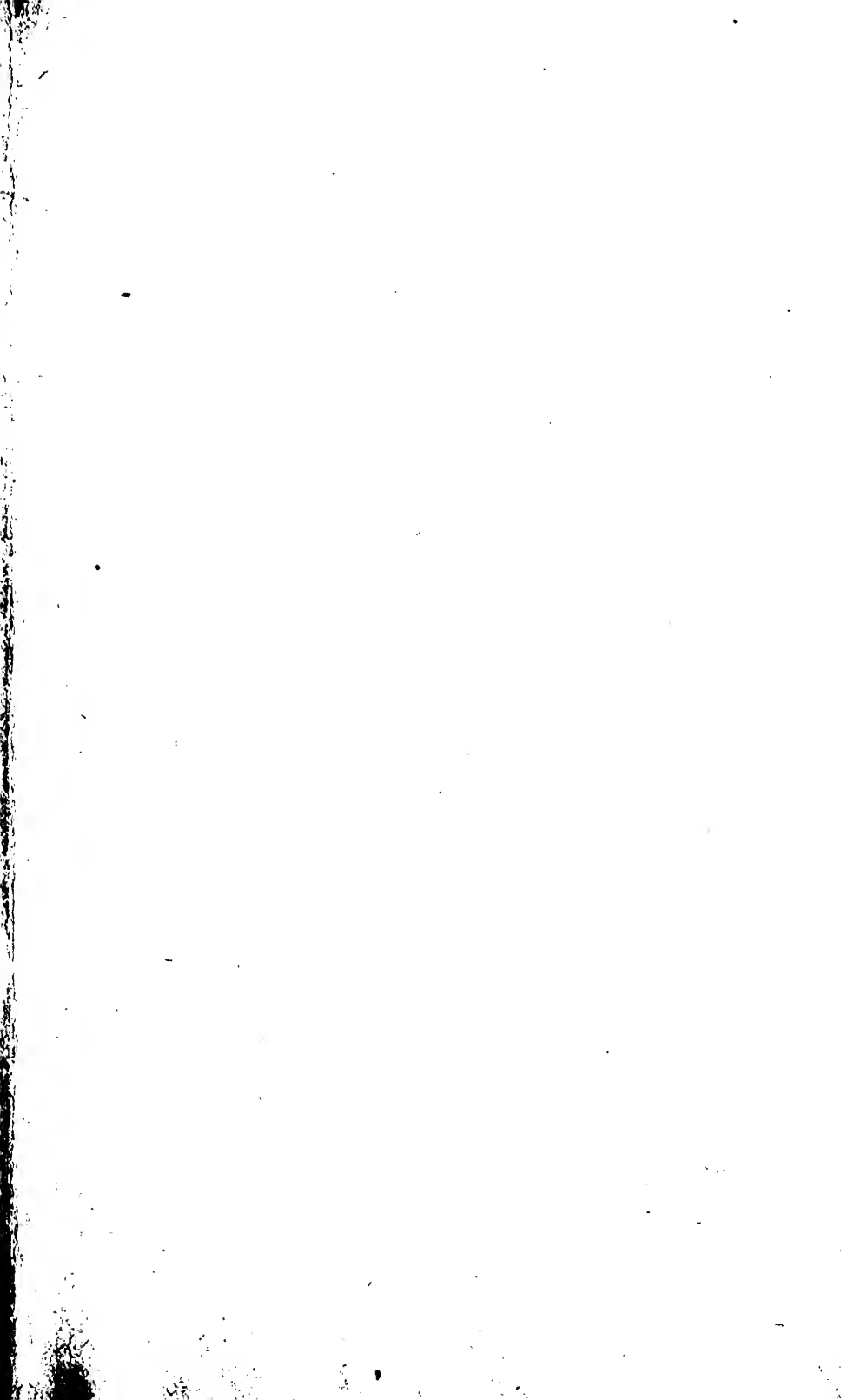
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